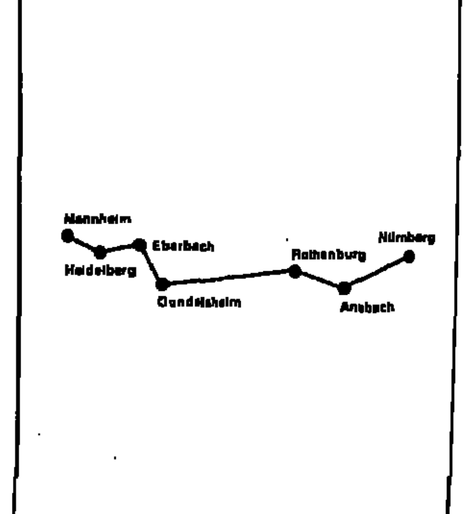
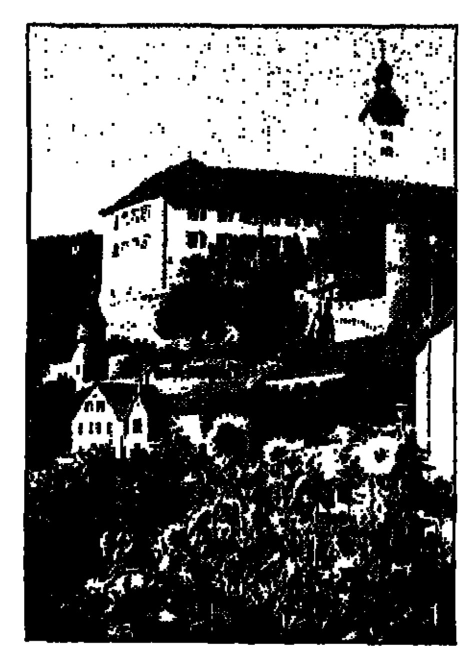
Routes to tour in Germany



The Castle Route

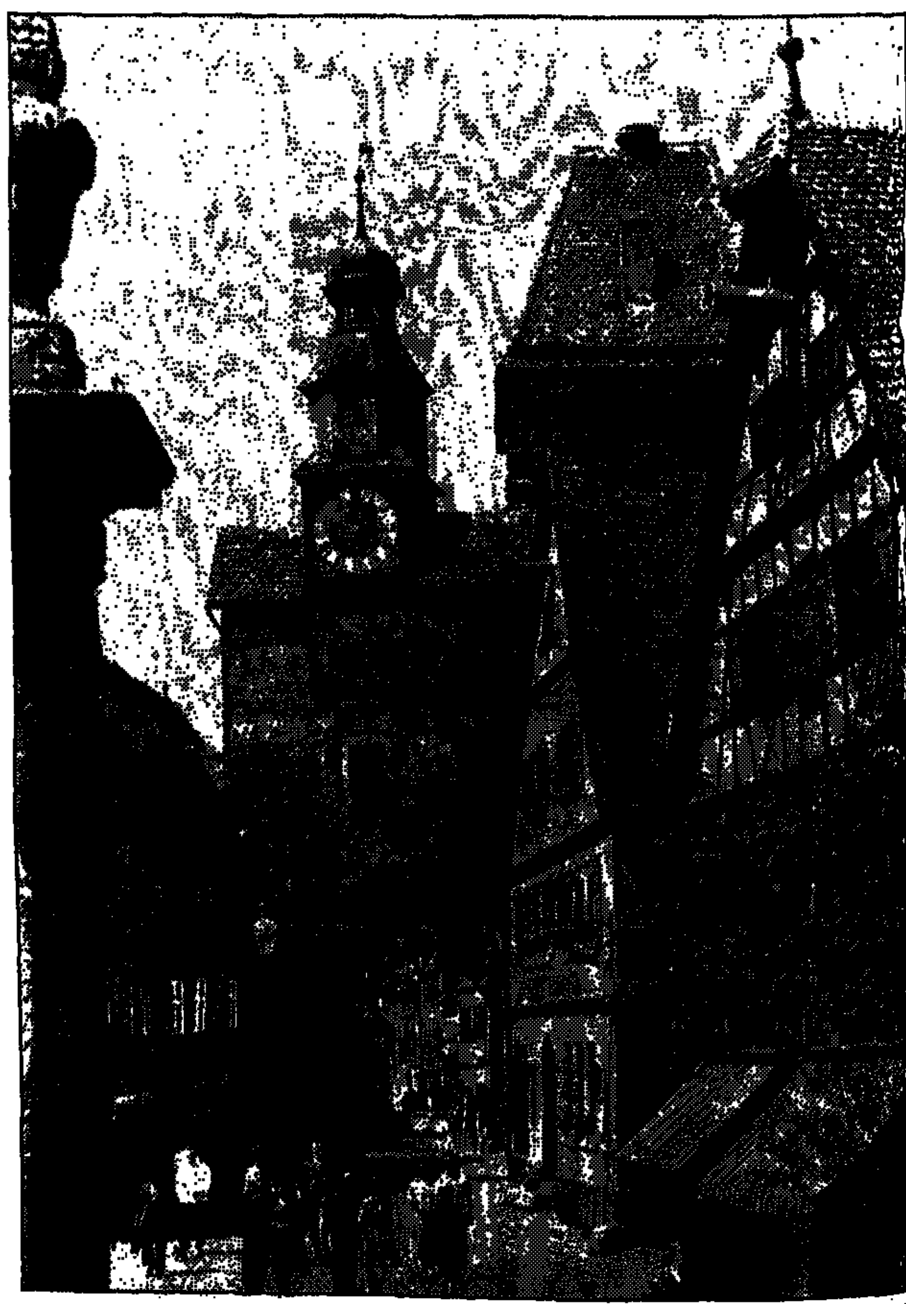


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Come and see for yourself the German Middle Ages. The Castle Route will be your guide.









1 Gundelsheim/Neckar
2 Heidelberg
3 Nuremberg
4 Rothenburg/Tauber



The German Tribune

Hamburg, 24 April 1988
Twenty-seventh year - No. 1319 - By air

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Hijackers take craft of terror up a notch

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Feelings of revulsion, horror and impotence have swept *international opinion* over what has been the worst hijacking in history.

The hijackers have defied all counter measures. This has demonstrated more clearly than ever how cynical, horrific and dangerous this form of terrorism is.

For far too long, the civilised world failed to take hijacking seriously enough, and that attitude suited some.

The first generation of hijackers now seem to have been harmless amateurs in comparison with those whose professional approach to both technology and psychological terrorism toward victims and adversaries we have all just witnessed.

The first generation failed to operate in sufficient numbers to last out several days of drama and were insufficiently determined to either kill or to die.

They were often not in a position to foresee and forestall for any length of time the delaying, confusion and surprise tactics *newly devised by the other side*, which was far superior in number.

Their objectives were also frequently of a kind for which some degree of understanding was possible, making it easier to meet their demands half-way than in the latest case, which is aimed at securing the release of convicted bombers.

Hijacking was, to begin with, a new development for public prosecutors too. They frequently first thought in terms of saving the lives of the hijacked passengers and were prepared, up to a face-saving point, to accept the lesser evil and disregard the long-term consequences.

We have since come to realise that this brand of terrorism cannot be brought to a halt by feeding it all or even part of the prey rather than severing even one of the hydra's heads.

The fundamental attitude toward terrorist blackmail has thus come more to the fore, as opposed to tactical considerations *of coping with the immediate danger.*

Initially, a number of hijackings ended — after fear and trembling — without lives being lost. Either the governments or the terrorists gave in or a mutual compromise was agreed.

The next stage of development was that several hijackings were ended by the intervention of special commando units that freed all, or nearly all, the hostages.

This gave rise to the mistaken impression that the authorities had at their command an ultimate option that deprived hijacking of at least some of its menace.

But subsequent hijackers were bound to bear these commando raids in mind and take suitable precautions.

Besides, *a linkage with individual* hostages in, say, Lebanon is an additional disincentive to sending in troops.

Even if araid is successful and no victims are killed, others may die elsewhere as a result.

In this case, like some other occasions, the hijackers have felt immune to a large extent because of their belief in the hereafter.

If you are firmly convinced that after a martyr's death eternal bliss will be yours, arguments that your life may be in jeopardy are unlikely to influence you.

You cannot threaten or use counter terror against fanatics' relatives or backers (both out of the question for a constitutional government in any case).

Hijacking has thus been escalated to its *purest and most terrifying form.* Once the first passengers of the Kuwaiti jet were murdered a compromise was ruled out for both sides (if it had ever been a realistic possibility).

In long drawn-out hijacking cases murders *of this kind are almost inevitable after* a while. The terrorists must otherwise fear they will not be taken seriously.

The hijacked Kuwaiti airliner has shown that given a sufficient number of terrorists, professional in outlook and determined to kill in cold blood if need be, governments have no choice but to jeopardise innocent lives directly or indirectly — such as, for instance, by freeing unrepentant terrorists in return for the release of the aircraft.

The only way to prevent such tragedies would be to ensure that terrorists and their arms cannot possibly board the plane, but experience has shown that the care and attention paid to security checks tend to flag, in many countries at least, as memories of the last hijacking fade.

Besides, as was evidently the case this time, terrorists may have accomplices working at airports.

An international rapid deployment force *would seem a less satisfactory* countermeasure consideration than an international surveillance system, operating in secret and empowered to enforce the strictest sanctions against airlines, airports or governments that neglect security check commitments.

Erik-Michael Bader
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 13 April 1988)



At the CDU meeting in Bonn: from left, the Soviet ambassador to Bonn, Yuli Kvitsinski; Bonn President Richard von Weizsäcker; American ambassador to Bonn Richard Burt; and Bonn Chancellor Helmut Kohl. (Photo: dpa)

The CDU meets and takes stock of foreign policy

Allgemeine Zeitung
MAINZ

The CDU foreign-policy congress in Bonn made headline news because it was attended by the ambassadors of the superpowers, America's Richard Burt and Russia's Yuli Kvitsinski.

It would have deserved attention even if they had not attended because it was held at a time when a CDU paper on foreign, security, European and German policy has led to the party leadership being accused of changing course.

Chancellor Kohl's conference address made it clear that the slogan "no change of course in Deutschlandpolitik" continues to apply to the constitutional objective of restoring national *unity.*

It is not enough, however, where operational foreign policy and Deutschlandpolitik are concerned.

Herr Kohl honed CDU policy a little more keenly, saying that while national unity was not to be abandoned as a long-term objective, in terms of Realpolitik the German Question remains open and its solution must be sought in a wider, all-European context. The German Question cannot be solved along 19th-century lines, he says.

He also warns against losing sight of reality. The nation-state was a 19th-century concept.

Moscow may continue to be upset by Bonn holding the German Question open, but Chancellor Kohl's vision has nothing whatever to do with restoring national unity within the 1937 borders *of the German Reich.*

He pays keen attention to Mr Gorbachov's reform bids, but attention must not be confused with credulity.

Glasnost and perestroika have yet to be put through their paces and truly prove their worth.

Herr Kohl would like to practise peacekeeping in Europe above and beyond the military sector, eliminating mistrust by means of economic cooperation, *cultural exchange and freedom of* movement.

The European house we share, as the Soviet leader is so fond of saying, must have doors and windows and not just safety alarms.

From a firm anchorage in the Western alliance Chancellor Kohl plans to visit Moscow this autumn with every readiness to conclude confidence-building bilateral agreements.

(Allgemeine Zeitung, Mainz, 15 April 1988)

IN THIS ISSUE

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Withdrawal from Afghanistan: beginning of the end, but not yet of the peace



Mikhail Gorbachov celebrates his second major foreign policy success with the signing of the Geneva agreement on Afghanistan.

It marks the beginning of the end of a campaign that had become a heavy burden on Moscow.

True, the withdrawal of Soviet troops will not, by any stretch of the imagination, mean peace.

The terms agreed provide for neither a ceasefire nor an end to arms supplies. But the bloodshed will now be between warring Afghan parties.

For Mr Gorbachov, cynical though it may sound, what matters is something else. Bringing the boys home will end a heavy world affairs burden on Moscow and lend fresh impetus to detente between the superpowers.

That was what mattered to Ronald Reagan too, who campaigned as an anti-Communist crusader and was elected President partly in view of the fighting in Afghanistan.

Mr Reagan seems determined to end his second and final term in office as a President of peace. That accounts for his readiness for summit diplomacy, for the INF Treaty and for the formal agreement on Afghanistan signed by Secretary of State Shultz.

The leaders of both superpowers seem resolved at present to seek their salvation in foreign policy successes. Mr Reagan is keen to shine brightly in the US Presidential hall of fame, Mr Gorbachov to score a point over his domestic opponents.

For the hard-pressed Soviet leader and Kremlin reformer ending Moscow's Afghanistan adventure is not only an objective need but a decisive dictate of power politics.

In the run-up to this summer's Party conference, which can be expected to decide the fate of Mr Gorbachov's policy, his critics within the Party are closing ranks.

The latest media clash may have ended in a victory for the reformers, but it could hardly have shown more openly that the advocates of Brezhnev-style orthodoxy have by no means given up the struggle.

For the third-largest newspaper in what continues to be a totalitarian state to carry a full-page article warning against parting company with socialism shows that the opponents of reform feel sure of some measure of top-level support.

Democracy as advocated by Mr Gorbachov does not go so far as to allow conservatives a forum in which to air their polemics.

Democracy glasnost-style means a frank exchange of views on approaches to reform, but in strict compliance with the provisions laid down by the Party leader.

So there are definite limits to the new liberalism in Moscow. Only Mr Gorbachov's supporters are allowed to embark on experiments and on new thinking of their own — until the point at which his power within the Party is challenged.

More can hardly be expected of a Soviet leader who faces opposition from conservatives not only in the ranks of officialdom but also among the general public.

For the time being he is expecting the Soviet people to accept substantial sacrifices, such as a reduction in subsidies, an end to tried and trusted concessions, and higher prices with no fundamental improvement in the supply of consumer goods.

Besides, his policy seems to be encouraging nationalist tendencies on the outskirts of the Soviet empire.

Clashes in the Baltic states and with the Crimean Tartars, the Armenians and the Kazakhs are but a cross-section of the problems that are bound sooner or later to beset the mixed bag of the Soviet colonial empire even though it may style itself a multinational state.

They may be coming to the fore now as a result of Mr Gorbachov's policy of glasnost, but his policy really cannot be said to have been their cause.

Yet the protagonists of the old school naturally make use of such tension to discredit renewal and reform even though they may have no alternative solutions to suggest.

It is all the more amazing to see how consistently Mr Gorbachov has chosen to abide in principle by his policy line.

For his chief foreign policy adviser, Anatoly Dobrynin, to admit that capitalism's powers of resistance were underestimated and to pillory mistakes made in this connection by the communist movement is to cast doubt on an entire credo of Soviet-style socialism.

It heralds a revolution in thinking that testifies to the scope of modernisation as envisaged.

But let no-one be misled into believing that Mr Gorbachov and his associates have ceased to be ideologically motivated.

They remain determined to renew the Soviet system to as to enable it to seriously challenge the capitalist West.

To this end, old dogmas are jettisoned and the charms of limited freedom, initiative and a degree of free market economy have been rediscovered.

But there has been no change in their sense of communist mission, which is where they differ as yet from their Chinese counterparts, whose sole aim is to develop their country.

But their respective approaches to reform show increasing signs of similarity.

Joachim Worthmann

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 14 April 1988)

New man is a pointer to Chinese aims

The Kremlin seems likely to have welcomed the appointment of Qian Qichen as Chinese Foreign Minister.

It can be no coincidence that he, as an expert in Soviet affairs, has been appointed. It is a sign that the Chinese Communists are keen on closer ties with the Soviet Union.

Qian Qichen was his country's chief delegate at the Sino-Soviet talks on resuming normal relations.

They proved a failure because China's Deng Xiaoping insisted on three "major hindrances" being eliminated prior to any improvement in relations.

All were political concessions Moscow was expected to make:

- a reduction in Soviet military presence in Mongolia and on the Sino-Soviet border;
- the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan;
- an end to Soviet support for "Vietnamese expansionism" in Indo-China.

To the West's surprise Mr Gorbachov has taken Deng's objections seriously. The Soviet Union last year withdrew some of its forces from Mongolia, and by the terms of the INF Treaty Moscow is to scrap medium-range missiles stationed in Siberia.

The second condition is to be fulfilled in the course of this year. The Geneva Treaty on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan was signed on 14 April.

That leaves Vietnam, where Soviet policy is ambiguous, with Moscow having doubled its backing for the current five-year plan. At the same time the Soviet Union is bringing pressure to bear on the Vietnamese leaders.

Party leader Truong Chinh, who resigned in 1986, said after a visit to Moscow that Vietnam risked losing Soviet support if large sums of money continued to be "squandered."

Vietnam has yet to be persuaded to withdraw its forces from Kampuchea. Why should it do so while Soviet troops continue to occupy Afghanistan?

Now the decision to withdraw from Afghanistan has been made, Mr Gorbachov is better placed to argue.

These changes have not gone unnoticed by the Chinese leaders. With Qian Qichen as Foreign Minister China is prepared for a phase of detente with the Soviet Union.

The need for economic and social reform brings the communist great powers closer together politically. Mr Gorbachov's Ostpolitik, initially smiled at, is starting to pay dividends at an unexpected rate.

Wolfgang Schmieg

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 13 April 1988)

Moscow takes ideological step backwards

Soviet leaders have long been aware of the failure of a system based on ideology and empty pathos, but — as in other dictatorial regimes — few if any were prepared to acknowledge this self-evident truth.

It took a ruthless realist to nail to the Kremlin door his revolutionary tenet that the Soviet system could simply not carry on as it had been doing and that a realistic approach was indispensable, heedless of doctrine and dogma.

Anatoly Dobrynin, a former Soviet ambassador in Washington and senior secretary of the CPSU central committee, now dares to say that the collapse of capitalism is not imminent, as Soviet propagandists have proclaimed for decades.

He can only do so with the backing of General Secretary Gorbachov, who has decided to endorse such heresy in the Kremlin and is no longer prepared to promote his Party's obscurantism and self-deception.

It is a dangerous game and can only be won because there is no other way out for the Russian people. It is only too clear that in ideological terms this is a backward step and an admission of powerlessness.

Mr Dobrynin was careful to attribute the decline of communism in the West to which he admitted both to trends in the Soviet Union and the East Bloc and to the competitive edge enjoyed by the West.

It was partly due, he said, to the West's undeniable scientific and technological revolution and to a technological lead that had brought about an enormous social realignment in the West.

Old-style Marxist class struggle was no longer effective, especially as socialism had failed to make use of its advantages, neither democratising society nor bringing about a radical solution of economic problems.

Communists, he said, lagged behind everywhere in the field of international cooperation. The West as he uses the term is clearly the stick with which the Russian donkey is to be beaten.

That doesn't apply only to Europe. What is now happening in China has much in common with Mr Gorbachov's approach.

The Soviet leader has attributed the failure to establish communism to the total lack of initiative and the prevalence of Party red tape, which he pillories for its unimaginative, routine approach and its tendency to corruption.

The Chinese too have long realised that a thousand flowers must be allowed to bloom if a bearable world is to be created.

Sad to say, long and bitter setbacks preceded the resumption of a critical approach by the National People's Congress and the decision to promote a greater degree of self-administration and decentralisation, a free market economy and a cutback in Party red tape.

Developments throughout the world show signs of similarity in being based on a realisation that ideological forecasts and commandments are no longer enough.

The crisis of international communism is not just a consequence of dogmatism and its claim alone to know what is good for the world.

It is due more to the fact that people are keen to develop individually rather than merely to develop some system or other.

Karl Ackermann

(Mannheimer Morgen, 14 April 1988)

The German Tribune

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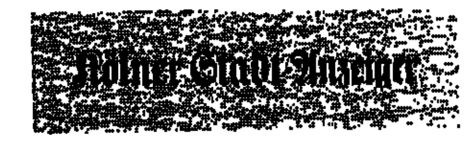
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■ HOME AFFAIRS

Changing voter allegiances wrong-foot main parties



The two big "people's parties", the CDU and the SPD, are passing through crises.

Although they still have the backing of eighty per cent or more of the electorate, and thus still function as stabilisers of democracy, both parties have to cope with the growing inconsistency of voting patterns.

They can no longer rely on their traditionally loyal voters, whose priorities for party-political allegiance often change overnight.

Disarmament issues suddenly move on to the agenda of the "big issues" and the CDU starts losing absolute majorities in *Land* elections because of its inability to respond to the challenge fast and realistically enough.

CDU business manager, Heiner Geissler, for his part finds himself confronted by vociferous protest against his attempts to realign his party's programmatic goals with the process of social change.

The question of voter reliability, therefore, turns into the question of party reliability: who or what exactly is the CDU today?

The conservative union is on the verge of a programmatic party congress.

This was always a welcome opportunity for party fundamentalists to inquisitorially sound out the whence and whithers of party movements.

Does the party risk jeopardising the noble principles of its Deutschlandpolitik by taking the bearings outlined by Heiner Geissler?

Isn't it jettisoning the principles of an austerity budget in favour of social good deeds which are financial pipedreams?

On the other hand, Geissler, Rita Süssmuth and Norbert Blüm force the party to reconsider the Christian ideal of the family as the germ cell of a humane society.

Can this ideal be achieved without providing financial relief for women with their triple role as mother, wife and employee?

Does making it more difficult for expectant mothers to get an abortion really correspond to the Christian profession to protect the baby in the mother's womb or isn't this likely to force mothers-to-be to turn to quack doctors to help them in their need?

Is more financial support for pregnant women the right approach?

The conflicts show that a people's party is by no means a melting pot of varying views and interests.

The differences continue within the various party associations, where disputes are just as intense as those with political opponents.

The claim to be a Christian party and, as such, to have policies and conduct which differ from other parties, almost become blasphemy.

The questionability of this claim always then becomes apparent when moral standards are fixed for political action.

When this happens fundamentalists often turn into pure pragmatists, a fact which was recently exemplified in three fields.

First, there was the case of the visit to Chile by Bonn Labour Minister Norbert Blüm.

Whereas he openly condemned Pinochet and his torturers CSU leader Franz Josef Strauss demonstrated a preference for a policy of pussy-footing and restraint.

In line with the motto: if it has to be a dictatorship, then preferably a right-wing rather than a left-wing one.

A similar conflict erupted over South Africa. The aliens policy in the Federal Republic of Germany serves as a third example.

Should a Christian Interior Minister be making efforts to stop foreigners from allowing their children to join them if the latter are over six years old?

Both the CDU and CSU know, of course, that most people don't give them their vote because of their disputed Christian policies.

The electorate simply feels that they possess greater competence in the economic and fiscal policy fields.

This together with a convincing foreign policy back in the days of Konrad Adenauer have ensured them sound majorities over the years.

It was only the loss of this competence by the conservative union and the fact that the SPD and FDP had politicians whom the electorate accepted which enabled a change in the power structure in Bonn in 1969.

This led to the first and so far only real election victory by the SPD in 1972.

For almost the same reasons as in the case of the conservative union, however, the SPD was ousted in Bonn in 1982.

The SPD is also discussing the question of its true identity; it also has its fundamentalists and pragmatists, whose roles — as in the conservative union — can change overnight.

Who wasn't surprised, for example, when the allegedly so left-wing Saarland Premier Oskar Lafontaine (SPD) shook the foundations of one of the most "sacred" of Social Democratic traditions: the party's link with the trade unions?

Yet Lafontaine was merely voicing a truism: the trade unions can clearly claim to be a worker's organisation, he said, but it is fair to question whether the SPD can claim to be a worker's party.

Shouldn't the Social Democrats have otherwise always obtained a two-thirds majority?

Like the Christians, however, the workers do not represent a sociologically compact group.

After all, the workers helped put Helmut Kohl's government into power in Bonn in 1983 despite the fact that Kohl made it clear that the path to an economic upswing would initially oblige workers to tighten their belts.

It looks as if the workers had also rea-

Continued on page 4

Kohl gives the tiller a careful nudge

Chancellor Kohl has been trying to improve the atmosphere in Bonn and lower unreasonable expectations.

On returning after the Easter break, he tried to sooth the CSU by condemning the criticism of Franz Josef Strauss made by the CDU social committees. But he dissociated himself from the CSU by rejecting its demand for a big cabinet reshuffle. The FDP was both courted and told off.

In view of the fact that the coalition partners are getting on each other's nerves and that their caustic remarks are made deliberately and not by chance this is not enough. Genscher's breakfast meeting with Oskar Lafontaine at the Saar trade fair was inevitably the topic of great speculation in such a situation.

Many members of the FDP regard Lafontaine as an acceptable leadership figure. The fact that Count Otto Lambsdorff (FDP) has been thinking out loud about an alternative coalition also suggests that a concerted action between the SPD and FDP is indeed being seriously considered, even though Genscher has denied this.

This coalition's main problem is that it is too self-preoccupied and thus wastes the energy it should be utilising for its major legislative projects.

Above all, the tax reform, reforms of the health system and a longer-term and more effective reform of the pension schemes run the risk of getting bogged down in parliamentary consultations due to the dificulties of obtaining a consensus.

Time, however, is running out fast. In view of the large number of subsequent elections even Kohl himself feels that a great deal must be completed by the end of next year.

His desire to keep to schedule is understandable, but this should not be achieved at the expense of quality.

The assessment of Kohl's powers of leadership will decisively depend on whether he manages to commit the coalition parties to an issue-related working atmosphere.

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 12 April 1988)

Events in Saarland sound alarm bells for coalition

The Bonn coalition is in a sorry state.

When a prominent FDP politician such as Count Otto Lambsdorff, who ranks as an undisputed right-wing liberal in his own party, starts thinking out loud about a possible coalition with the SPD in the 1990s there is definite cause for concern.

Lambsdorff added that the Social Democrats must learn a great deal by that time. This was a tactical move.

Lambsdorff may well have had a specific Social Democrat in mind when making his remarks, someone who is currently practising pull-ups and take-offs in the economic policy field: Oskar Lafontaine.

His latest test run was a speech he gave during the opening of the Saar trade fair.

The speech given by Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher on the same occasion was no less astonishing.

In it he praised the Saarland Premier and his economic policy ideas (even though he did not agree with all aspects).

Genscher criticised the dispute in the Bonn coalition and even managed to avoid making a single mention of the name Helmut Kohl.

Genscher's speech in Saarbrücken, therefore, is a further alarm signal for Bonn and for Chancellor Kohl. Why is the coalition is such a bad way?

Franz Josef Strauss and the CSU must take a large part of the blame.

Even though the CDU's Bavarian sister party may have been right in many respects it repeatedly forgets the sacrifices and caution needed to sustain a multi-party coalition.

This is apparently difficult to understand for a party such as the CSU, which has held an absolute majority in Bavaria for so many years.

What is more, the ageing CSU chairman Franz Josef Strauss never stops trying to exert his influence on the decisions taken by Chancellor Kohl and his cabinet.

Franz Josef Strauss has always tried to further his own political interests against all CDU government leaders in Bonn.

Konrad Adenauer, Bonn's first Chancellor (1949-1963), waited for the right opportunity to throw Strauss out of the cabinet because of this.

Kurt Georg Kiesinger (1966-1969) played it safe by giving Strauss the job of Finance Minister in Bonn to make sure he was too busy to cause him too many headaches.

Ludwig Erhard (1963-1966) and Helmut Kohl kept Strauss away from Bonn. The result was that Strauss and the CSU have always tended to criticise the Bonn government rather than support it.

However, the CSU is not entirely to blame. Helmut Kohl has made a lot of mistakes himself. Too many?

The list of mistakes is a long one and has often been the subject of discussion.

This explains why Hans-Dietrich Genscher does his utmost to avoid reference to the Chancellor.

It also explains why Baden-Württemberg Premier Lothar Späth, who is also regarded as a possible successor to Chancellor Kohl, adopted his own approach during the election campaign.

Saarland Premier Oskar Lafontaine has also been mentioned as a possible partner in a grand coalition.

This is bound to worry the FDP. Genscher's noticeable friendliness towards the SPD in general and Oskar Lafontaine in particular during his speech in Saarbrücken on 19 April is at attempt to nip any drift towards a grand coalition in the bud.

It is interesting to note that this tactical move is being engineered by Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Count Otto Lambsdorff and not by the FDP chairman Martin Bangemann.

Lambsdorff is known to be keen on becoming leader of the FDP.

SPD chairman Hans-Jochen Vogel also seems to be playing second fiddle at the moment to Oskar Lafontaine.

Lafontaine is the current "contact man" for both the angry trade unions and for the FDP with their fears of a grand coalition.

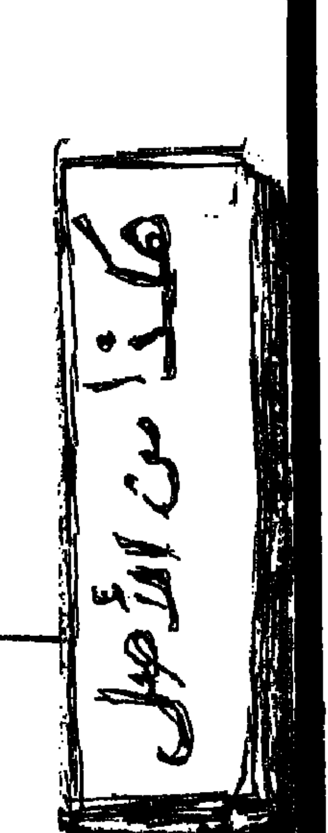
Like very few other politicians Helmut Kohl is used to considerable fluctuations in the political temperature.

However, what is currently happening in Bonn cannot be dismissed as the usual ups and downs.

A new climate is developing which could above all seriously jeopardise the position of the Chancellor.

Rudolph Bernhard

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 11 April 1988)



■ HOME AFFAIRS

SPD better placed than ever to storm a CDU bastion

A coalition between the Social Democrats and the Free Democrats seems the likeliest outcome when the northern *Land* of Schleswig-Holstein goes to the polls on May 8, says Karsten Plog in *Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt.* The election follows an indecisive election last year in which the biggest issue was a dirty-tricks imbroglio which threw up the muckiest political scandal for years in Germany. Here is Plog's assessment.



CDU's Heiko Hoffmann . . . untouched by the scandal. (Photo: Poly-Press)

The election takes place without the two figures who left a decisive mark on the election last year: Uwe Barschel, the State Premier at the time; and his public relations adviser, Reiner Pfeiffer. Barschel was sometime after the election found dead in a Geneva hotel.

But despite the wheelings and dealings of that election campaign, the result was not a success for Barschel's CDU. Instead it was a stalemate. The SPD got 36 seats and the Danish minority party one; the CDU got 33 and the FDP 4.

This time, almost everyone expects the CDU, which has been in power here for 37 years, to lose out to the SPD.

Opinion polls give the SPD a clear lead, in some cases large enough to suggest that it has a real chance of winning an absolute majority.

The CDU finds itself in a sorry state; and it has to blame some leading party members for the situation. The FDP, which has been assuming big-party airs and graces in recent months, and which has run into trouble as a result, will again have to worry about whether it will even be able to get over the five-per-cent of the vote hurdle, which is necessary to get representation in the assembly.

And the Greens doubt whether they will have a say in determining policies in the *Land* after the election.

The CDU goes into the campaign with a team headed by a man regarded as a makeshift candidate who has come in in an emergency: Heiko Hoffmann. The SPD, on the other hand, is headed by Björn Engholm, the man who was the target of the dirty-tricks campaign last time. Engholm has a widespread popularity and many CDU people like him as well.

The SPD reckons that if it doesn't win this time in Schleswig-Holstein, then it never will. But it is determined not to count its chickens before they're hatched. The *Land* has a hard core of dyed-in-the-wool conservatives. Much of this is in the area just outside Hamburg known as the Belt of Fat. Otherwise, the *Land* is not all that wealthy.

Many of the middle-class voters living in this area near Hamburg find it difficult to support SPD policies. This became apparent even at the last election when the SPD achieved its best-ever result here with 42.5 per cent of the votes cast to become the single biggest party in the Kiel assembly. Voting patterns revealed the resistance of the Belt of Fat voters compared with the overall trend.

Nothing that has happened since the election last September gives any great *hope that the CDU will be able to make up* the lost ground in time for 8 May. Large sections of the party have been unable to draw the conclusions which needed to be drawn following the Barschel affair.

Of course, the new candidate for Premier, Hoffmann, is untarnished by the affair. He is also a respected politician outside his own party.

But this will hardly be enough, especially in view of the fact that the crisis of leadership triggered inter alios by the CDU chairman in Schleswig-Holstein, Gerhard Stoltenberg, still continues.

Some of the party's former hopefuls such as its former representative in the parliamentary inquiry into the Barschel affair, Count Trutz Kerssenbrock, have been brought back to earth with a bump.

In an attempt to ensure his place on the party list of candidates Kerssenbrock, who is extremely conscious of the media, managed only to get 35 of the 400 votes at the regional party conference. This means that he will have to be first past the post in his own constituency to get a seat in the assembly.

The days when the CDU could rely on candidates winning most of the seats in Schleswig-Holstein are now over. Once, the SPD was happy if it won 10 of the 44 seats. But that changed fundamentally in September last year.

The SPD then took many seats which had traditionally been CDU property. CDU candidates on the party list could count themselves lucky that, under the proportional representation system, they didn't have to fight a constituency battle.

Another difficulty for the CDU is that no major issue which might stir the voters has emerged. *The SPD envisage phasing* out nuclear energy. This was heavily criticised by the CDU last year but it has already fallen flat this year as an issue.



SPD's Björn Engholm . . . a popular candidate. (Photo: Sven Simon)

The attempts by the CDU every year to criticise SPD education policies in favouring developing the comprehensive school system is unlikely to interest anyone other than untiring critics in the schools themselves.

It looks as if the Barschel affair will remain the key issue. Gerd Walter, the SPD chairman in Schleswig-Holstein, is gunning for Stoltenberg, the CDU chairman. Walter says Stoltenberg should take re*sponsibility for the affair.*

The CDU replies that this attitude is a breach of the fair-play arrangement between the parties. Günter Flessner, the deputy CDU *Land* chairman, referred to what he called the serious mistakes of just a few politicians. The party as a whole, he said, could not be held responsible.

It will be interesting to see how the conservatives tackle the shattering results of the parliamentary commission of inquiry into the affair during the election campaign.

Right wingers in the CDU and in extreme right-wing groups are trying to exploit the CDU crisis for their own ends. The *Land* election in Baden-Württemberg, in which the CDU just managed to hang on to power, showed that a growing number of voters are willing to vote for right-wing radicals, even under circumstances which are much more favourable for the CDU than in Schleswig-Holstein.

So, all in all, it looks as if political power *in Kiel will change hands. It is* unlikely that the FDP will be able to keep the CDU in office. The likeliest result is that the SPD will not quite manage an absolute majority and will be obliged to enter a coalition with the FDP. A glance at Hoffmann's campaign teams reveals just how sceptical*ly the CDU regards its own prospects.* No prominent politician from Bonn or from the other *Länder* was willing to help drag the Schleswig-Holstein party out of the mire by coming in to join the shadow cabinet.

Karsten Plog

(*Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt*, Hamburg, 10 April 1988)

Continued from page 3

lised that you can't distribute more than the economy produces.

Baden-Württemberg Premier Lothar Späth, for example, achieved a no longer expected victory in the state assembly elections with his argument that improving the situation for employers helps improve the situation for employees.

As the percentage share of skilled workers among the total number of employees increases there is also a growing leaning towards individuality and towards an emancipation from preconceived opinions and behavioural patterns.

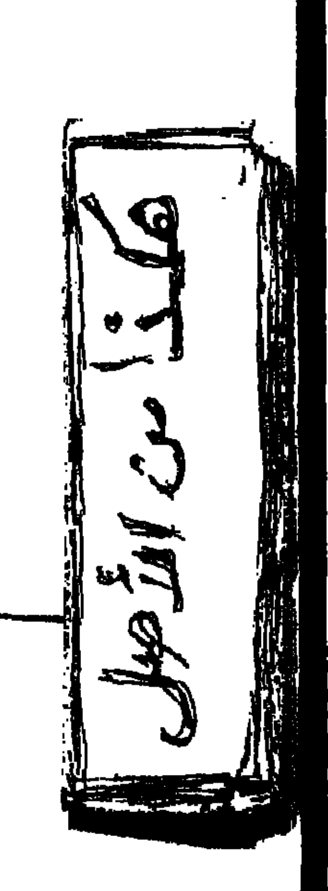
This is a risk for any mass organisa*tion or mass-orientated political* party. The more fundamentalistic or idelogical the organisation or party, the greater the risk.

More individual freedom means less general equality.

Providing this does not lead to a value-free society and egotism this need not be harmful to democracy.

Hans Schmitz

(*Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger*, Cologne, 13 April 1988)



■ PERSPECTIVE

Dangers of yearning for an intelligible future in an age of shifting values

Freedom without links and commitments will only degenerate into anarchy, says J. Kurt Klein, who is in charge of the *Akademie der Bundeswehr für psychologische Verteidigung.* In this article, one of a series for the Bonn daily, *Die Welt*, he *writes that values in Germany have been* changing and people are becoming confused about where they stand.

The system of values in the Federal Republic is undergoing its most serious crisis of confidence yet. Many *reasons for this crisis are home-grown,* while others are not subject to political influence.

Viewed superficially, the politico-psychological situation is governed by many sectors in politics, not to mention science and industry, having grown too complicated for the man in the street.

So he refuses to accept them rationally. They include European integration, security and defence policy, atomic energy, electronics, chemicals.

The vacuum leads to an emotionalisation of argument. Never in post-war Germany has politics been viewed and discussed as emotionally as today.

The time has come for those who feel *politicians ought to reach and justify* their decisions on the basis of the Sermon on the Mount.

Conditions typical of the age in which we live include the explosive increase in communications, especially telecommunication.TV, for instance, has brought *about greater changes in how we think* and feel and what we want than any new medium.

The amount of storable information is estimated to have doubled between 1800 and 1900.

Between 1900 and today it has increased *150-fold.* This means we are inundated with information most of which is unnecessary in daily life. It also complicates communication between generations.

After the War people came to feel that the more information they had, the better.Younger people today have in contrast found that the more information they have, the more confused they become.

We are at the beginning of an era of growing confusion over where we stand and what our bearings are, an era that has yet to be defined in terms of cultural psychology.

As orientation is invariably value-related, *we also face confusion in our sys*tem of values. Young people are on the lookout for new values, as is shown by the growing tendency toward religion (and toward offbeat sects).

It is hardly to the churches' credit that many leading clergymen are no longer able (or willing) to answer pressing questions of orientation.

Instead, they use sociological truisms. So do many educationalists, journalists and "opinion-makers."

Many people anxious to find new bearings feel utopian ideologies may be the answer. The result is a kind of renaissance of ideologies. Marxist, anarchist, Green-alternative and, admittedly, *nationalist utopias are benefiting most.*

The temptation to accept ideological answers is great because of their sense of moral superiority. Struggling for an ideal future is more fascinating than changing an un-ideal present.

Despite their many differences, young people today all feel they live in an unintelligible world in which functional connections can no longer be controlled and in which forces exist that try to take man by the hand and lead him where he doesn't want to go.

This unintelligible present triggers a growing feeling of unease and, often, anxiety. This much-vaunted and usually underrated anxiety is merely a natural reaction to an unnatural state of affairs.

This unease about the unintelligibility of the present leads to a longing for an intelligible future.This legitimate longing for an alternative is, also, aimed at a new feeling of humanity. Many young people feel antiseptic inhumanity is on the increase.

*Not infrequently, their demonstr*ations of protest are nothing more than the expression of a collective experience of humanity.

This longing for an alternative has just been termed legitimate in the sense of justified. This legitimacy has a wide-*ranging effect on legality — in the sense* of the constitution and the law.

Yet it cannot fundamentally be rated more highly than justice or the law, legitimate though it may be to demonstrate against the proposed nuclear fuel reprocessing plant at Wackersdorf or the new *runway at Rhine-Main airport,* Frankfurt.

Legality goes by the board, however, when two police officers are murdered (as happened in Frankfurt) and hundreds of fellow-officers need hospital treatment.

*Legitimate though it may be to dem*onstrate against the arms race in East and West, there is no justification for breaking the law by refusing to accept decisions reached by parliamentary majorities.

There is no justification for a "law of *resistance" going beyond Article 20 of* Basic Law, the 1949 Bonn constitution, as stated by Günter Grass and Walter Jens — not unless one is prepared to give oneself up.

That ought surely to be self-evident to intellectual authorities such as Grass and Jens.

In the late 1960s an ominous theory of the state was echoed loudly, if not widely, in the Federal Republic. The state was defined as the immoral use of "structural force against the individual citizen." The individual, it was implied, enjoyed a right to use countervailing force.

In practice that was a call to disregard all laws that ran counter to subjective moral self-realisation. That tolled the knell of a minimum of ethical consensus.

The political response to this trend *was hapless. In several Länder attempts* were rashly undertaken to incorporate this fateful "theory of the state" in the canon of political education.

Only the blind can now deny that terrorists and anarchists lay claim to the right to a countervailing use of force.

This trend was, similarly, not nipped in the bud, with the result that a guilty party may soon be sought on whom the blame can be laid. No one is above violence and murder.

Initial regret was expressed that we have largely forgotten how to take a phi*losophical view of our free and democ*ratic system.

The art of asking fundamental questions is tending to atrophy behind the inclination to provide long-winded and pseudo-sociological explanations.

That only goes to show that the level *of education of many people active in* politics and the media has declined to an alarming degree

Knowledge and facts are ignored where they might adversely affect power and influence.

Not infrequently, the simplest pre*cepts of urbane and educated behaviour* toward people who hold views different from one's own are ignored.

It is thus high time to recall the foundations of our free and democratic system — before the risks threaten to jeopardise its very survival.

Everyone likes freedom, especially those who once lost it. But most people in the Federal Republic today have only second-hand knowledge of losing freedom. Freedom is a matter of course.

That is why many risk freedom more readily than they might be prepared to *expose less self-evident values to risk.*

Yet this freedom presupposes links and commitments, as it will otherwise degenerate into anarchy.

Freedom will otherwise lead to the strong imposing their will on the weak, to the rich exploiting the poor and to the *fast outpacing the slow.*

These links, the constraints of the law, need, like freedom itself, to be inalienable, as otherwise they will degenerate into dictatorship.

Dictatorship is basically links without freedom to go with them. In German history we have had more than our share of dictatorship, left- and right-wing.

Justice and the law are indispensable, and the law needs power if it is to become reality. Law without power is an illusion worth no more than the paper it is printed on.

Neither ethically nor physically does it oblige anyone to abide by it.

Power, however, — up to and including the clenched fist of force — needs to abide by the law to attain legality.

A fundamental feature of the rule of law is that all power is legalised by the law (or can at least be kept in check by it).

If, in a free and democratic system, certain power factors or those who exercise power are no longer subject to the dictates of the law, constitutional issues arise.

In other words, the entire system is called into question.

*Any sober and level-headed apprai*sal of the position in the Federal Republic is bound to refer to the numerous constitutional aspects of the system.

The present and future of our polity will depend on how they are handled.

J. Kurt Klein

(Die Welt, Bonn, 13 April 1988)

Era of student unrest — 20 years later

Twenty years ago, on 11 April 1968, student leader Rudi Dutschke was shot in Berlin. The shots not only marked him for life; they marked the *end of a development in the Federal Re*public of Germany.

It was a development that began with protest against an affluent society and its bourgeois values and ended in resignation and violence.

Dutschke, who never fully recovered, *was a student leader who symbolised* the class of '68, campus unrest and the protest movements of the 1960s.

The political climate and social structures of the Federal Republic undeniably triggered protest and student unrest.

In Bonn the Christian and Social Democrats shared power in a Grand Coalition government from 1966 to 1969.

Their joint exercise of power led to political sterility and parliamentary stagnation.

The political system was overshadowed by the Adenauer era which, the longer it lasted, increasingly came to rely on the maxim of "no experiments" as the yardstick of Christian Democratic and conservative behaviour.

That alone was not what triggered senior school and university student protest in the late 1960s, prompting them *(and many university teachers) to throw* in their lot with what was known as the Extra-Parliamentary Opposition (APO).

In Vietnam the Americans were busy losing their way in a jungle war they could no longer hope to win. Pictorial *coverage of horrific and brutal propor*tions was flashed round the world.

"Ho, Ho, Ho Chi-minh!" was the war cry of demonstrators in the Federal Republic.

There was unrest in the United States too, with protest against both the Vietnam war and oppression of black Americans.

Black civil rights leader Martin Luther King was assassinated. So was Robert Kennedy, who stood for an end to the Vietnam war and for solidarity with the underdogs in American society.

Last but not least, 1968 was the year in which Warsaw Pact troops invaded Czechoslovakia. Tanks faced people and Soviet tanks used force to suppress the popular desire for a taste of freedom.

A wave of solidarity with Czechoslovakia swept the Federal Republic (and Western Europe), as did a wave of anger and admiration of resistance.

Thus many features combined in the *late 1960s to trigger protest. It included* protest against the superpowers for preferring suppression to politics.

The bid to break new ground, at least in the Federal Republic, was reflected in a music scene of which beat and rock music was the hallmark.

One may wonder today whether it was all worthwhile and whether anything was achieved. It is hard to say. In 1968, as opposed to 1848, there was no need to gain acceptance of basic rights in the Federal Republic.

Besides, rapid developments in many sectors ensured the beginning of the end of outmoded structures.

In 1969 a coalition of Social and Free Democrats came to power in Bonn, and in the early 1970s a succession of treaties were concluded with the East Bloc.

Continued on page 15

■ LABOUR

The penalty for neglecting the nation's biggest asset

Hannoversche Allgemeine

Those were the days, the 1960s and early 1970s, when school-leavers could pick and choose, when employers fought to sign on any apprentice they could find.

Everyone could learn whatever trade he wanted, subject only to the limits of his ability, either in industry or at university.

As we all know, times have changed, and changed very much for the worse. The 1960s baby boom led to a dramatic increase in the number of school-leavers in the 1980s.

Even though the political problems that entailed could hardly have been more predictable, prospective employers still failed to provide enough apprenticeships to train them.

The latest figures presented by the employers are a clear indication that happy days may soon be here again.

The baby boom was followed by the after-effects of the contraceptive pill: a low birth-rate generation that will soon be leaving school.

By the mid-1990s there will be a manpower shortage almost everywhere. Trade and industry, the Bundeswehr, schools and universities are already starting to complain.

Society already has a high price to pay for having failed to provide satisfactory vocational training for school-leavers in the 1980s.

The only raw material to which the Federal Republic can lay claim is the brain power, vocational training and qualifications of the Germans.

Unlike cash and kind, this is a commodity that cannot be increased or multiplied at will. That is why all investment in the education and training of the young is an investment in the future of society as a whole.

Decision-makers in the Federal Republic have failed to make the right investment.

The overwhelming majority of school-leavers may always have found some trade to learn or been able to study, but more would have been better.

Instead of joining forces in this endeavour, the country's economic "superpowers," the trade unions and the employers, have spent the past decade waging their cold war of old.

Politicians have contented themselves with appealing to all concerned. The result was an increase in the number of apprenticeships and traineeships offered, with supply by and large meeting demand.

But apprenticeships have continued to be in short supply, especially in development areas and, arguably more important still, in trades that are of crucial importance for the country's economic future.

This somewhat slapdash and haphazard approach to the problem of a boom of school-leavers has had repercussions.

Hundreds of thousands of school-leavers who failed to find an apprenticeship left school to join the ranks of the unemployed.

University graduates have been forced to do work well below their qualifications, job training schemes and work for a limited period in the hope that times might change for the better.

They are a generation that rightly feels it has been left in the lurch. Society has let them down.

Even if the situation does now improve, many young people can look back on hard times. One can but hope they will find suitable jobs.

But some of them are sure to stay in the ranks of the unemployed until demographic developments eventually reverse the trend.

Society, having failed to satisfactorily organise employment and education, will long have to pay the price for its mistakes.

They may not be quantifiable, but industry could definitely do more if unused or underused manpower potential were properly harnessed.

The state would net more in taxes, unemployment insurance, health insurance and pension fund contributions would be lower and pensions could be increased.

The employers' laments about an imminent shortage of school-leavers are bound to be music in young people's ears.

The first signs of a manpower shortage are, admittedly, in trades that aren't very attractive.

But, as time goes by, the shortage will spread to other trades and industries until school-leavers can once again pick and choose.

They will be able to opt for the job that interests them and no longer have to make do with whatever just happens *to be available.*

But judgment on the past decade must not be too harsh. Other leading industrialised countries have fared even worse in their attempts to ensure that jobs and job training are available for school-leavers.

Oil price shocks and exchange rate fluctuations have taken their toll. But one point is clear: we cannot afford to feel self-satisfied.

Bernd Knebel

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 11 April 1988)

A rush to the professions is predicted

More and more people are reported to be aiming at a career in the professions, says a Commerzbank survey.

By the turn of the century the number of self-employed professional people is expected to increase from 363,000 to about 570,000.

Pressure — and competition — will be fierce, with the largest increase forecast for management, industrial and advertising consultants.

In 12 years' time there are expected to be 49,000 of them self-employed in Germany, or twice as many as today.

The number of lawyers and consulting engineers is also expected to double, as against only a slight increase in numbers of artists, publicists, educationalists and people in the liberal arts *generally.*

The reason for this rush to join the professions is, according to the Commerzbank survey, the poor prospects of finding a job in either industry or the public sector, plus the encouraging forecasts of incomes in the professions.

Last year the average self-employed professional person grossed DM87,000. He (or she) naturally had to make a substantial provision for security in old age.

Besides, the survey continues, the self-employed do not work a 40-hour week. On average they work 56 hours a week.

The professions employ roughly 1.2 million people and total an estimated turnover in excess of DM100bn a year.

The medical professions total 143,000, making them the largest category. They include over 100,000 doctors and dentists, 17,000 pharmacists and 22,500 people employed in non-academic medical professions.

They used to earn more than other professions, but the rush to join their *ranks and efforts to cut costs in the* health service are likely to reduce their earnings markedly in the years ahead.

An estimated 46,000 solicitors and notaries, 34,000 tax advisers and accountants and 22,000 management and advertising consultants work in the respective professions.

Lawyers already face tough competition, but the survey says the outlook for these categories will continue to be favourable, subject only to a general increase in numbers.

Beginners often find it hard to establish themselves. They frequently have to survive very lean years before they can hold their own in competition with established practitioners.

The outlook for the construction industry is felt to be so gloomy that the country's 30,000-odd architects seem sure to face hard times.

The 13,000 consulting engineers and 15,000 self-employed scientists in other disciplines should fare better.

Harmonisation within the European Community is expected to bring about substantial changes.

Freedom to work and set up in practice throughout the Community will enable anyone with qualifications from one member-country to work or set up in business in another.

Existing restrictions such as the ban on advertising by professional people are likely to go by the board, as are other requirements laid down by professional bodies and fees based strictly on fixed rates.

Andreas Richter

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 12 April 1988)

Management: women stand to gain from changing times

Look in the appointments columns of daily newspapers and you will see that men are wanted in industrial, commercial and public sector management.

Over 90 per cent of executive vacancies are for men only. A mere five per cent even go through the motions of saying that women may also apply.

Executive appointments are never advertised for women only. But times will change. Surveys indicate there will be a shortage of half a million executives by the turn of the century.

Suitable *male candidates* will *not* be available to fill these 500,000 vacancies, so the obvious solution is to fall back on the hidden army of unemployed women.

If the qualities specified in executive appointment advertisements are any guide, women ought surely to be well suited for most jobs on offer.

Team spirit, good listeners and applicants who have no qualms about taking decisions are very much in demand. All are qualities usually attributed, often disparagingly, to the fair sex.

Gone, or so it would seem, are the days (or gone they soon may be) when men held sway by virtue of will power, energy and ambition.

Authority and elbowing are out; a softer approach is in. It may not be typical of women, though; some men already prefer it.

Besides, there is no longer felt to be a style of leadership specifically attributed to one sex or the other; individualism is the catchword.

Four hundred executives (men and women; over a third were women) spent two days in Düsseldorf discussing the outlook at the 1988 German Management Congress.

Organised by Düsseldorf as the North Rhine-Westphalian capital and the RKW, an industrial rationalisation organisation, it dealt with collaboration between men and women at the top of the career ladder.

Delegates discussed problems of and with women as men's bosses and of sexual connotations and innuendoes in the boardroom.

Women, all were agreed, have never been as well qualified as they are today.

Never have so many done so well at university, especially with business-related degrees such as economics, management and law.

Yet they tend to underrate themselves. At the same time they are too ambitious, whereas men have no compunction about airing their views even on issues about which they know little or nothing.

Women prefer to stay in middle management rather than to aim for the chief executive officer's desk.

Their management skills, the congress was told, were not adequately encouraged. They also lacked self-confidence.

Women who had "made it" said they had been through hard times and would not have lasted the distance had it not been for encouragement from the top.

Staff usually feel it is somehow wrong for a woman to be in charge. Their views only change when the boss encourages the fair sex.

And a mere 2,000 women hold the whip hand, as against an estimated 52,000 male managing directors.

Career women stressed that they set great store by an objective approach, saying men were afraid of emotions.

They felt a "he-woman" outlook was undesirable but warned against using sex tactically in any way.

Women who tried to use their charms on men in business negotiations soon found that this approach backfired.

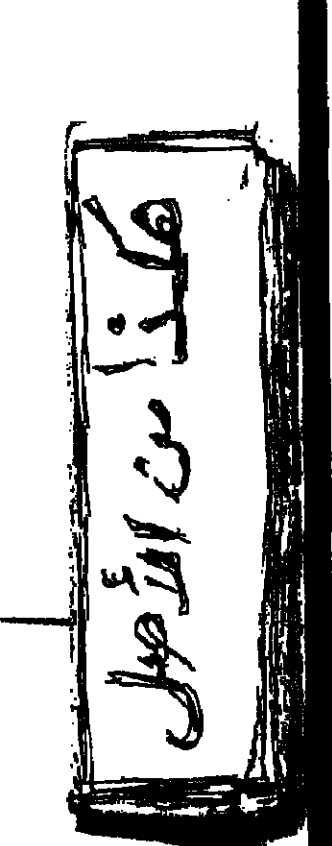
There was, however, nothing wrong with either sex being charming or attractive, sexually or otherwise.

Time is on women's side. With a shortage of executives and a new, less muscular approach to management preferred, the fair sex can afford to bide their time.

They will get there sooner or later.

Dagmar Haas-Pilwat

(Rheinische Post, Düsseldorf, 9 April 1988)



■ FINANCE

Confidence rises internationally as 1987 figures reveal increase in trade



Foreign trade withstood the heavy burdens to which it was imposed last year better than many had feared.

Despite the turbulence on foreign exchange markets and despite fairly slack economies in most industrialised countries both exports and imports increased in 1987.

German exports increased by 2.9 per cent in real terms, while imports were up 5.4 per cent after inflation had been *taken into account.*

So export growth was more than twice what it was in 1986, while German demand for imported goods, which was much brisker than the growth of world trade in general, gave the economy a perceptible boost in supplier countries.

For the first time in seven years the current account surplus (including imports, exports, services and transfers) declined nominally and not just in inflation-adjusted terms.

The sound export showing is remarkable mainly against the background of deutschemark revaluation.

During 1987 the deutschemark gained 15 per cent in value against the dollar, which meant a corresponding (and further) increase in the price of German goods in export markets.

Yet exports, far from declining, increased steadily until the last quarter of 1987, registering a real increase of 7.5 per cent on 1986.

One explanation for this trend is that exchange-rate fluctuations tend to have a delayed-action effect on trade patterns.

Besides, exports were affected not only by a revalued deutschemark. The mark declined in value against sterling, the yen and the Swiss franc.

All told, the average revaluation in terms of a trade-weighted basket of the *14 leading industrialised countries* was a mere two per cent.

That is not a figure which is likely to upset the competitive applecart to any great extent, especially as prices and costs in most competing countries increased faster than in the Federal Republic.

Last not least, German exporters sell well over two thirds of their goods in Europe, a part of the world blessed last year with relative exchange-rate stability.

Mainly in view of foreign exchange trends the forecasts for 1988 have at times been somewhat gloomy.

The Standing Conference of German Chambers of Commerce and Industry (DIHT) may not have forecast a "slump" in exports on the basis of its New Year poll of members.

But it did say that German companies were expecting exports to decline and profits to be markedly hit.

Meanwhile, however, the dollar has not just steadied; it has even gained ground to about DM1.70.

This, taken alongside what continues to be a largely favourable economic outlook, especially in European countries, has led to trade and industry feeling more confident.

Guarded optimism has been partly encouraged by recent export orders, which in the New Year were in some *cases well above the high levels averaged* between April and December 1987.

This is true of export orders generally, of basic materials and manufactures, of capital and consumer goods.

It naturally varies from industry to industry but the seasonally- and inflation-adjusted trend is encouraging.

Between December 1987 and February 1988 export orders were up 8.6 per cent in real terms, or a growth rate nearly three times that of domestic orders.

German trade in DM billions

	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
Exports	432.3	488.2	537.2	526.4	527.0
Imports	390.2	434.3	463.8	413.7	409.5
Surplus	42.1	54.0	73.4	112.8	117.5

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Gatt and OECD now also take a more promising view of the outlook for the international economy and for world trade.

So German exports are now expected to increase by between two and three per cent in real terms this year, while imports could increase by between five and six per cent.

Lothar Julitz

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 14 March 1988)

World growth prospects are better, says Stoltenberg

German economic growth this year could exceed two per cent, Bonn Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg forecast on the eve of the spring conference of the IMF and the World Bank in Washington, D.C.

The conference dealt with the international economic outlook, economic *and monetary policy cooperation* between the industrialised countries and the Third World's sovereign debts.

All told, he said, the position of many heavily indebted developing countries continued to be difficult, while that of a number of very poor countries was critical. The Washington conference would probably concentrate on the problems of debt-ridden countries with moderate national products and on the extent to which new financial instruments might make it easier for the banks to chip in more cash.

But fresh funds only made sense, Herr Stoltenberg said, in countries where the groundwork was laid for more growth and stability.

The outlook for continued international economic growth and a gradual approximation of trade and current account balances between industrialised countries was better this spring than at the end of last year.

At the end of 1987, after serious upsets in foreign exchange and stock markets, there were grave fears that the international economy could be in for a phase of stagnation or recession, not to mention serious trade clashes.

Close cooperation between the leading industrialised countries had, however, played a large part in ensuring continued growth and fairly stable prices in these countries, which had a positive effect on the developing world.

In the Federal Republic of Germany economic growth this year seemed likely to amount to over two per cent, due partly to a substantial increase in private consumption and to encouraging trends in industrial and commercial orders in the first quarter.

Tax cuts, consolidation of the dollar exchange rate and stable exchange rates in the European Monetary System had contributed toward this trend.

It must, he felt, be maintained and upheld *worldwide if the trend* was *to continue* on a long-term basis. The US budget deficit must be further reduced and US domestic spending be increased.

In countries with an export surplus, particularly Germany and Japan, obstacles to growth must be further eliminated, he said, without going into details.

Advanced South-East Asian economies, especially Taiwan and Korea, must play their part in helping to ensure trouble-free international economic development by abolishing tariff barriers and stimulating domestic demand.

Herr Stoltenberg expected the leading Western industrialised countries to reaffirm their intention of joining forces and stabilising exchange rates.

The World Bank had gained a substantial extra credit leeway now its capital had again been increased.

Bonn favoured an increase in IMF quotas next year and would frankly and benevolently discuss with its partners proposals for a more effective form of support facility.

He was not prepared to comment before the Washington meeting on the commercial banks' proposal for an increase in SDRs to facilitate a solution to the debt problem.

He merely noted, in general terms, that further progress could only be made if debtor and creditor countries, international organisations and commercial banks were to stand by their responsibilities and continue to make their contribution toward a solution.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 12 April 1988)

■ BUSINESS

What SDI is doing for German industry — not much

RHEINISCHER MERKUR

Economic Affairs Minister Martin Bangemann and US Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger signed an SDI framework agreement on 27 March 1986.

It was intended to serve as a "broad principle for possible extensive participation" by German firms and research establishments in the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI).

What effect has this "memorandum of understanding" had? Bernd W. Kubbig of the Hesse Foundation for Research into War and Peace has examined what has been achieved two years after the agreement was signed.

In his report he comes to the conclusion that many expectations were just soap bubbles and burst.

One of the main hopes was that through SDI participation German *firms would be able to take part in American research projects.*

The truth is that two years later German firms have not taken part in technical know-how to any noteworthy extent because of restrictive American legislation.

Kubbig is an America expert at the Hesse War and Peace Foundation and did a doctorate in political science.

He has looked at SDI relations within the context of a project supported by the Bonn-based Scientific Research Association (DFG).

He has visited the United States any number of times and has carried on his reseach within the SDI administration, in the Pentagon and the offices of the US Senate and House of Representatives.

He has come to the conclusion that hardly any of the expectations held for SDI cooperation have come to fruition.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl had hoped for fair partnership and a free exchange of knowledge from the Federal Republic's involvement in SDI.

Through the framework agreement the Federal Republic should have participated in the innovative thrust of the programme and exerted some influence on the programme as a whole. So the Chancellor said in his government statement of 18 April 1985.

But instead of the expected partnership developments took place in the US after the signing of the agreement that ran counter to Federal Republic hopes.

The secrecy surrounding scientific-technical data was intensified. Secondly there was an increased tendency to limit unclassified research contracts from the Pentagon among universities and orders to Defence Department contractors were sharply reduced.

The export of military high technology, mainly micro-electronics, important or regarded as important, was made in practice and at law extremely difficult.

These factors are not compatible with the idea of fair partnership. They have reduced to a mere trickle the broad flow of contracts expected as a consequence of the framework agreement.

Kubbig said: "*There were and are no* precise figures about what it was hoped the agreement would involve. There were many expressions of euphoria."

He continued: "The truth is that today, two years after the agreement, contracts valued at $50.5m have been handed out to German firms and research *establishments, mainly Stuttgart* University."

Just how limited this share is can be seen from a glance at the total of SDI contracts. "That is 0.5 per cent of all SDI contracts handed out up to the spring of 1987 — about as much as have been placed in the state of Utah," Kubbig said.

He continued: "These contracts to German companies and institutions make up one per cent of the total of SDI contracts handed out to foreign firms and institutions — just about as much as have been placed in the state of Colorado."

The climate of opinion within the United States has also changed, analogous with this transatlantic disillusionment. "Attitudes to SDI have altered considerably, particularly in Congress, which ultimately has to approve spending the cash," Kubbig said.

"Although the Reagan administration has trimmed the SDI budget as compared with previous years, the discrepancy between what the Administration is demanding and what Congress is prepared to approve has become greater. There is no doubt that the majority in Congress is critical of SDI," said Kubbig.

How has this increased gap in the figures come about? Kubbig commented: "Glancing at the 1989 budget in terms of funds requested for the SDI programme I estimate that up until now about $20bn has been put into the programme or will be allocated for it."

He continued: "This is against the original hopes of getting $26bn. Discussions about the 1989 budget are still going on, but nevertheless you can assume that Congress will cut the funds allocated even more drastically."

The one per cent of SDI contracts that has been placed abroad is divided among eight countries. Compared with the others the Federal Republic *with* $50.5m worth of contracts has the lion's share.

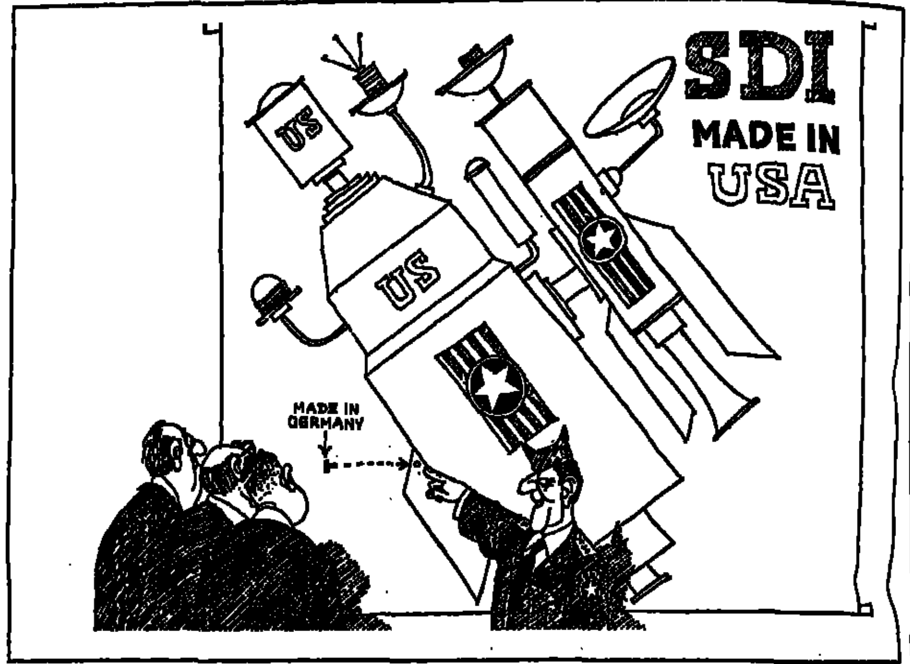
Britain holds second place with $30m worth of orders. Here the discrepancy between hopes and reality are much more conspicuous.

In the expectation of many contracts the British Defence Ministry opened its own SDI office, employing 24 in Britain and seven in the US, at an annual cost of $ 500,000.

Over the past two years the Dutch have been given SDI contracts worth $12m. *Israel and Italy have each* received contracts valued at $11m, France $5m.

The French participation shows that the American SDI administration purchases important know-how from wherever it is offered, disregarding whether *the country concerned has signed* a framework agreement or not.

The French government not only refused to sign the agreement but for a long time has made no secret of the fact that it regards SDI in a very critical light. Paris has given French companies *a free hand to participate in SDI*, however.



Something for everyone.

(Cartoon: Leger/Süddeutsche Zeitung)

Canada has received SDI contracts valued at $900,000 and Belgium $90,000. The Belgians and the Dutch have both expressed their scepticism about SDI.

What is the implication of these facts for the argument advanced that those who do not participate in SDI are bound to become technologically second-rate *in the civilian sector?*

Kubbig said: "Looking at the contracts that have been placed it is quite clear that Federal Republic firms have gained no practical know-how. Arms cooperation is no way to build up solid and promising high technology policies in the civilian sector."

He continued: "Anyone who wants to close possible or real technological gaps should pursue paths of civilian cooperation. Many of the limitations, which apply to military matters, would fall away if this were done."

Kubbig published a list from the Pentagon which shows that the US Defence Department had signed agreements with the German companies Zeiss, Schott and Heraeus long before the signing of the framework agreement.

This indicates clearly that SDI contracts are signed irrespective of an SDI framework agreement.

In July 1986, four months after Bangemann and Weinberger signed the agreement, Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm received the largest single contract awarded to a non-American company within the SDI context. It was valued at $34m.

Taking into consideration the size of the contract and the time span for its completion Kubbig believes that negotiations were under way for this deal *when Bonn was in the midst of wrestling* for the framework agreement, eventually signed in March 1986.

According to this Pentagon list, German companies which had also been given contracts included Diehl, Rheinmetall, Interatom, Siemens, Dornier *and Krupp-Atlas — no-one needs* fear that SDI contracts are a matter of life or death for these industrial giants.

Their range of high technology products is well-known internationally and includes mirrors and reflectors, high-frequency technology, signals processing, optical sensors, systems elements fo acceleration in high-speed missiles, materials research, space-lab sub-systems — high technology that it is right to suppose would be ordered without an SDI agreement. Then why this framework agreement? Does the Bonn government believe it is obliged to be a partner of the United States?

Kubbig said: "There are defence fears that the US could decouple itself from Western Europe via SDI. The key words are zones of dissimilar defence."

He continued: "The other fear the advocates of the agreement had was that the Federal Republic would lose touch with US technology. Both parties then were drawn towards this agreement *which both sides saw as a compromise.*"

Kubbig said that within the Bonn coalition and its constituent parties there were calls for the Federal Republic to participate financially in SDI and not just with a framework agreement which would make it easier for Federal Republic *firms to get contracts from the* United States.

If the framework agreement was devised for the benefit of industry what do industrialists themselves think of it?

Kubbig said: "From the outset industry was in the main sceptical. Industrialists regarded participation in SDI with caution, primarily because they already had had experience in dealing with the US, not only in the civilian sector but in arms matters."

"They knew that American legislation was very restrictive, limiting, protectionist. In other words industry had previously seen that not much was to be expected and not much can be expected," he said.

According to Bernd Kubbig the fact that the Bonn government had nevertheless gone along with this agreement did not go unnoticed by internal American SDI sceptics and opponents.

"The ultra-conservatives of all people, who did not go along with the aims of the Federal government's arms controls policies, used this framework agreement *to strengthen their pro-SDI* stance."

Kubbig continued: "But those senators and congressmen who shared the Federal Republic's attitudes, liberal opponents and moderate sceptics of the SDI programme that is, felt themselves *snubbed by Bonn.*"

According to Kubbig Senator William S. Proxmire, Democrat, Wisconsin, is an example. He is one of the best-known opponents of SDI, but was left with just one argument when Bonn had given in to the agreement.

The Senator, Kubbig said, believed that the Europeans had been bought by the framework agreement. "Only in this way could the Federal Republic, the Bonn government at least, muffle its criticisms of SDI."

Peter Körfgen

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 1 April 1988)

■ ENERGY

Increased estimates of oil reserves: who has got who over a barrel now?

Opec oil reserves are on the increase, the West's on the decline, says a US trade journal. Does the industrialised world risk further dependence on the oil sheikhs?

The latest estimate of world crude reserves by the *Oil & Gas Journal*, a US trade paper that is prescribed reading for oilmen, is much higher than previously assumed.

In comparison with previous figures *estimated world reserves* in 1988 have increased by 27 per cent at one fell swoop to 121 billion tonnes.

This is an all-time record, as the trade well knows. In terms of current world consumption totalling roughly three billion tonnes a year, the latest estimated *reserves should be enough for another* 40 years or so.

Reassuring news for motorists, people with oil-fired central heating and the petrochemical industry. Not to mention economic policymakers.

The international upswing sustained for the past six years has owed little to the economic genius of Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher and Helmut Kohl.

It has been due to the sudden surplus of crude oil after years of artificially short supply.

So the news is good for everyone who is happy to carry on as before. But on closer scrutiny the implications, particularly the political implications, of this newly-proclaimed abundance of energy reserves are far from reassuring.

The increase is due entirely to an enormous boost in the reserves of the Opec countries, the countries that from 1974 to 1980 pursued oil price policies which triggered the most serious crisis of the capitalist system since 1929.

Opec reserves have been re-estimated at 91 billion tonnes, up 40 per cent, while those of other oil producers declined by two per cent to 30 billion tonnes.

So three quarters of the world's petroleum reserves lie beneath Opec countries, all of which except Venezuela and Indonesia are in politically insecure parts of the world.

Until last year the accepted view was that the Opec countries accounted for two thirds of the world's oil reserves, with the West and the communist countries sharing the remaining third.

Yet oil output was already the exact opposite, with Opec production making up just over one third, 40 per cent produced by "safe" non-communist countries and the remainder, about a quarter, by East Bloc countries, including China.

The communist countries used most of their oil themselves, exporting little or none to the rest of the world.

Many oilfields in the West have been worked 10 times as fast as oilfields in Opec countries.

There was, of course, *a reason for* that. In the early 1970s the Opec countries, most of which are in the Arab world and Africa, supplied over half the West's oil, initially charging very low prices.

The United States, encouraged by such bargain-basement energy supplies, came to rely, and to rely unnecessarily, on Opec oil.

Opec, itself encouraged by its share of the market, then increased oil prices in two major rounds of price increases from $2 to $40 per barrel.

Western oil companies thereupon switched over to Western producers as far as they could.

They mainly bought oil from Mexico, the United States, Canada and the North Sea, which between them account for roughly 12 per cent of the world's oil reserves.

Yet they account for 30 per cent of present world output, so switching to them, plus Venezuela and Indonesia, as oil suppliers can only work for a limited period.

By the end of the century most of the West's oil reserves, especially North Sea and US oil, will have been exhausted.

The Federal Republic of Germany, with low filling station prices that make it a motorist's Mecca, will be particularly hard hit.

Forty per cent of oil sold in Germany is either locally produced or imported from the North Sea, both likely to be exhausted over the next decade and a half.

For the West as a whole the story is slightly different. One of the big winners in newly-estimated oil reserves is Venezuela. Its estimated reserves have trebled, while those of the United Arab Emirates have increased fourfold.

That leaves Saudi Arabia, which still accounts for roughly a quarter of the world's proven oil reserves.

Between them they make up a fair number of countries well-disposed toward the West and heavily committed in the West by way of investments.

That need not stop them from making the best use they can of their financial *options as other Western oil suppliers* slowly run dry.

They have the whip hand in any case, not just because of their enormous proven reserves but also because their production costs are much lower than those of other producers.

A barrel of oil costs between $1 and $2 to produce in the deserts of Arabia, as against $10-15 in the West, where oil platform technology is often costly and complex.

At the current market price of $18 per barrel a number of producers find it hard to make ends meet in Western oilfields.

That provides the Arab petroleum-exporting countries, should they ever reach agreement again, with a brilliant means of manipulating the world market.

If they want to bring Western oil production to a halt all they need to do is to cut oil prices to roughly what it costs the West to produce oil.

If, in contrast, they decide to make their reserves last longer, all they need to do is push the oil price so high that the West starts to exploit its own oil resources again.

Does that mean Opec holds the whip hand whatever happens? Not quite.

If Opec were to push prices up to, say, $35-40, it would automatically jeopardise its monopoly of supplies.

The industrialised countries would then develop expensive energy alternatives that have so far been neglected on cost grounds.

Oil itself would be the most significant alternative: heavy oil, oil sand and *shale, all of which are available in enormous quantities in America.*

Their only drawback is that they can only be extracted and supplied to refineries and consumers at a production cost of $35 per barr

Heavy oil and oil sand and shale reserves, mainly in the United States and Canada, roughly correspond to Opec's present proven crude oil reserves.

But technical progress, together with any increase in the market price of crude oil, will automatically boost Opec's reserves.

They are estimated less on a geological basis than on one of accountancy. The term "proven oil reserves" means reserves that can profitably be extracted, taking economic and technological considerations into account.

In reality geologists have located oil reserves 10 times the level they currently specify as "proven," and even oilfields that are now being worked are only rated at about 30 per cent of their capacity.

Producers rely on underground pressure to extract the oil. This pressure is exhausted by the time between 25 and 30 per cent of the oil has been extracted.

The remainder stays put and is not included in reserve estimates.

When these factors are borne in mind, no-one will need to be upset by reserve estimates. As long as there has been an oil industry the proven reserves have invariably been enough to meet demand for a further 30-40 years.

That will probably still be the case in a century's time. So the excitement caused by the latest estimates published

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

in the *Oil & Gas Journal* merely reflect power politics.

As soon as the Gulf War is over (and it strictly limits Opec's leeway) the West could well face fresh economic *faits accomplis.*

Iran and Iraq rely on petrodollars to bankroll their war and are reputed to have pledged a number of their oilwells *to Western countries. Their output* is certainly to blame for a price-cutting glut on the oil market.

But this glut of oil produced in the Middle East could well come to an end at the same time as oil reserves in the West grow scarce.

America, Japan and Europe will then have no choice but to make the best of a bad job.

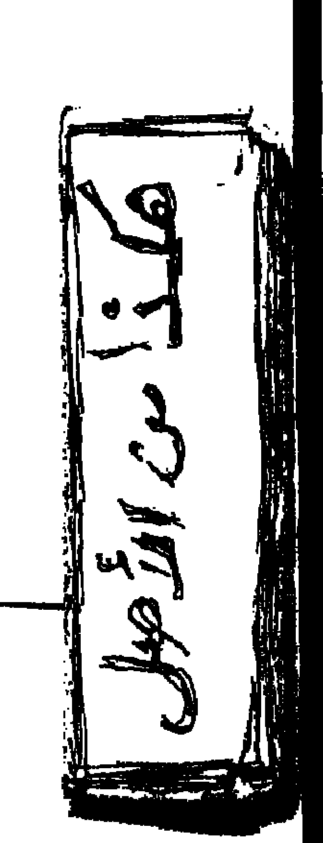
They could work the enormous but expensive reserves of heavy oil and oil sand and shale, but that would entail investment totalling $1,000bn.

They could switch from oil to natural gas, but Western reserves of natural gas are also limited and being supplanted by gas piped from the Soviet Union and Algeria.

Last not least, they could devote their attention and creative imagination to developing energy-saving techniques and non-fossil, non-nuclear fuels.

Günter Buschmann

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 10 April 1988)



■ PEOPLE IN THE ARTS

Leonard Bernstein: film with atmospheric evocation

Bernstein . . . anyone can conduct, but . . . (Photo: Sven Simon)

A three-part television film has been made of Leonard Bernstein's Orchestra Academy at the Schleswig-Holstein Music Festival.

Production costs were enormous. Five cameras, a massive transmission truck and two mobile television teams turned the manor house at Salzau in East Holstein into a high-technology camp.

Director Horant H. Hohlfeld and his technical staff had the opportunity to describe a process, perhaps even a drama: the origins of interpretation or what happens when a conductor conducts.

From the start no concept was drawn up, there was no concert that could be shown on the television screen, following the usual scheme of full orchstra *then panning in on individual players.*

This time the problem was to make a meaningful visual narrative from any number of isolated shots that could be a portrait of Bernstein without the public relations angle, advertising for the Schleswig-Holstein Music Festival without the marketing men banging the drum.

The film had to be an atmospheric evocation of a distant corner of the Federal Republic, a documentation of what is being done to encourage young musicians and an explanation of the inexplicible "but" in the title of one of the three hour-long films, "Anyone can conduct, but..."

The film had also to be an answer to the question what makes orchestral conductors conductors, an explanation for cultural affairs officials of that which they administered and which they should know all about, and finally a concert guide to draw viewers into the magic of music with the aid of the visual. The viewer learns to listen by watching.

If a work of art is a creation with many facets and perspectives then this three-part series is a work of art. The filming simply revolved round the documentation of two weeks of hard work and happy celebration.

But sensitive camera work and a sympathetic approach to what could be called "the action" has produced a lot more.

Every antennae is out to produce a visual language that gives some idea of what music is and what music can trigger off.

The three films act as a mediator between emotional and rational qualities as does the music itself.

Bernstein announced that Igor Stravinsky's *Sacre du Printemps* was concerned with sex and reproduction. He made this statement not only verbally but using his whole body.

The camera pans in on the faces of the young musicians, taken aback by what he has said. But it also pans out of the window of the barn that was converted into a rehearsal studio, to close-ups of Holstein cows chewing the cud, to bees and flowers.

The 120 instrumentalists for the orchestra were chosen through a rigorous selection process from more than 10,000 applicants.

To warm them up and to get them to listen to one another he demanded from his players the childishness of scales.

The young boys and girls from 14 to 26, who felt themselves to be a bit above such an unreasonable demand, quickly realised how difficult it is to cope with the simplest thing.

Bernstein, the psychologist, conducted his charges into ever fresh variations of a simple C major scale. A piece of music was created from eight notes.

Bernstein made his musicians relax by shocks and tricks of this kind. He opened them up to things of the mind, he made them receptive.

One young musician said: "Bernstein is a man through and through who expresses everything with his body. He is a magician. When he stands in front of you, you have to play as he directs."

Bernstein is not given the TV star treatment but he is in command of everything, even the viewers. That comes in useful for an understanding of the music not only in the rehearsal barn but on the television screen.

Every hour-long programme has its own problem. The first film of the series, entitled "We make progress this way," shows not only preparations with teaching from experienced instrumentalists drawn from the Berlin Philharmonic and the Hamburg Philharmonic but also some idea of how to come to grips with the "action" of the TV film.

How can the film maintain its tension if the main character never appears?

At first this seemed like a motly muddle: there are shots of the landscape from a plane, faces and vegetables, cooks and double-basses, dogs and horns. The meaning is unambiguous: orientation.

Short interviews define the expectations of the teachers and the taught. This puzzling muddle creates not only the rehearsal atmosphere and a sense of the manor house park, but gives a foretaste *of the musical conception of the* films.

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Presumed iconoclasm functions as a reservoir of leitmotivs. It sets down visual chords that later, like the thematic work of a composition, return in a variation.

Even when Bernstein is not physically on screen his presence is still felt, whether the orchestra is rehearsing Brahms' *Academic Festival Overture*, or whether individuals make music for the park trees, spontaneously performing some chamber music, or a group watch together a video of the New York Philharmonic (under Bernstein of course) playing Mahler's 5th.

When at the end he departs in Justus Franz's feudal Mercedes with a brass fanfare, the appearance of a ruler is ironically brought to an end. The classy automobile rolls off like a master of ceremonies and standard bearer with a dog trailing behind.

It is not the only humorous touch in the three films.

In the film entitled "When he stands in front . . ." the problem is: how is it possible to make an hour-long film with meaningful sequences on rehearsals of *Sacre?* without going through the usual TV-camera routine and producing boring pictures for the screen?

The solution is to create a stronger visual rhythm. The extraordinarily vivid rehearsals of all things are shown in the course of a concert in the Schleswig-Holstein Music Festival with leaps in time that are bridged by short interviews with Bernstein and some of his eleven conductor finalists.

By this sophisticated time technique the viewer gets to know that things also change for him during the learning process.

He learns and equips himself to get to know a complicated piece of music from the inside. During the rehearsing process he gets to know the meaning and structure of the piece.

He is drawn into this transformation as if there were no time limitations between himself and the musicians.

The screen seems to disappear like time since the summer. The suggestive quality of the TV medium is used here to show direction rather than to seduce.

The action in the film about the conductor is geared to the personalities of Bernstein's eleven young finalists from six countries.

A selection process reduced these candidates to four who were groomed to take an active part in the film.

This process provokes criticism that is slotted into the film and should be taken seriously.

The orchestra's right to vote remained just a theory. The time for conducting was too short for a valid judg*ment to be made. The process was too* arbitary and the result questionable.

Bernstein's defence was weak. In this part the only really conflicting event in the three-part series happened.

Jeffery Goldberg is an American and very talented. His biggest problems are with himself rather than with music.

During Beethoven's 8th he almost took his own life. The cameras took a closer look, curious at what was almost a sensation.

Bernstein's psychologically-dazzling diagnosis did not help at all, nor the spontaneous sympathy of the audience for the unfortunate young man on the podium.

He was in sharp personality contrast with the completely cool, almost emotionless, controlled Stephan Tezlaff and the dark Carlos Spierer, whose eyes could flash evilly.

The conductors film is not suitable for getting to know musical works. The musical examples (a lot of Beethoven but also Mendelssohn, Ravel, Dvorak, Shostakovitch, Tchaikovsky and Sibelius) are too numerous and dubbed in too briefly.

The music serves here as an indicator to answer the complicated question what does a conductor have to do up there, what is this extra he does apart from beating time?

The film naturally cannot answer this question, but it makes the viewer more sensitive of the conductor's difficult role. The general merit of this three-part documentary is that it awakens an

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Von Karajan . . . living legend. (Photo: Deutsche Grammophon)

Von Karajan still going strong at 80

Herbert von Karajan has become a legend in his own lifetime. He has placed his stamp uniquely on the music of the 20th century.

When he stands with eyes closed on the podium in front of "his" orchestra it is a great moment for Berlin's Philharmonic.

He has just celebrated his 80th birthday in his native Salzburg.

For the past 30 years Karajan, an honorary citizen of Berlin, has been *the* artistic director of the Berlin Philharmonic, an appointment he holds for life.

Wolfgang Stresemann, the former director of the Berlin Philharmonic, said on the occasion of Karajan's 70th birthday that the two were melded together, conductor and orchestra, "in an incomprehensible fashion."

Then this stroke of good fortune was severely shattered. His decision to appoint a 22-year-old Munich girl as clar*inetist attracted more headlines than* Karajan's concerts themselves.

After months of argument the conductor and orchestra were brought together again in 1984.

News magazine *Der Spiegel*, published in Hamburg, recently reported about "confusing financial behaviour" by Karajan's advisers that was linked to private financial interests and the heavily subsidised Berlin Philharmonic "in an indecent manner."

Karajan was born in Salzburg on 5 April 1908. His father was the surgeon Ernst von Karajan.

The young Karajan studied at the Mozarteum and made his debute as an infant prodigy pianist.

After studies in Vienna he returned to Salzburg and had sensational success with the Mozarteum Orchestra in 1929.

He then went to Ulm and later to Aachen where he was Germany's youngest music director.

In 1938 he conducted Mozart's *Zauberflöte* in the Staatsoper Unter den Linden which was an astonishing performance. From then on critics spoke of "the wonder of Karajan."

In the same year he was appointed director of music in Berlin becoming a rival to Furtwängler.

In 1955 Karajan succeeded Furtwängler as chief conductor of the Berlin Philharmonic.

For a time Karajan was a member of the Nazi Party, but he was turned out because of his marriage in 1942 to a woman who was half Jewish. The Amer

Continued on page 14

■ ART

Old things, new faces: the role of the restorer



A 1913 publication on restoring works of art, written by Professor Konrad Lange, had the curious title *Ein dankbarer Frauenberuf* (A Rewarding Women's Profession).

"I would particularly urge women interested in art history," he wrote, "to consider whether their love of art and old masters might not persuade them to consider training in this wonderful women's profession rather than writing a thesis on art history."

This might sound a little odd today, but this view is expressed with an understanding of the restorer's art that calls for handling historic works of art with sensitivity.

For some time the number of people visiting museums has been on the increase. Special exhibitions are held everywhere. Bids in auction houses are getting higher and higher.

The restorer is indispensible in all this. His or her work of rescuing old pictures, drawings, books and antiques *from decay and decline is more often* than not arduous and calls for considerable patience.

The restorer guarantees that works of art are brought back to their pristine glory and in no way falsified.

The restorers' associations said in a statement, called "The Pink Paper" because of its cover, that: "Restoration means today the utilisation of scientific methods for the preservation of historic works."

An unbiased reading of this statement must lead to the impression that all is well in the preservation of works of art in private or public collections.

There were and are indeed qualified restorers in the Federal Republic. Among the internationally well-known restorers from this country are people such as Doerner (in pre-war Munich), Wehlte in Stuttgart and Wilhelmsen and Taubert, who specialise in paintings and sculpture.

Nevertheless the astonishing fact is that this profession, which is responsible for so much art, is not given official recognition in this country. Anyone can set up as a restorer. Neither the profession nor movable art works are offered legal protection.

Astonishment is even greater if one looks at the training facilities for restorers in the various federal states. Because each state has sovereignty over its own cultural affairs, there are considerable differences in training for the profession.

The basics of the restorer's art can be learnt by practical work in a museum or by working with an independent restorer. Usually this means at least five years' training with no examination at the end.

In Bavaria there are special academies that are in effect just technical colleges. In 1976 an Institute for the Technology of Painting was set up in Stuttgart. This institute offers a course in restoring and issues a degree on restoration techniques involving painting and sculpture.

Since 1982 Hamburg has demanded prior training as a carpenter or bookbinder, or alternatively five years' practical experience as a "restorer," for participants in a 30-month training course in the city's museums. Hamburg finally issues successful students a certificate as trained restorers.

Because the Hamburg model is very much geared to practical work it has not been adopted nationwide, nor is the Hamburg certificate recognised in the other federal states.

Controversy about training in the restorer's art has been going on for a long time. The dispute revolves round a definition of what restoring involves in practice and where is the line drawn in the training for a craftsman.

There has also been much discussion on just how to train a restorer. This controversy is also linked with the question of the status of the profession.

Craftsmen have traditionally been involved in the preservation of historical monuments and furniture. After a certain period in practical work they are regarded as restorers.

This fact, linked to economic considerations, has led the national craftsmen's association to draw up a job description for "craftsman restorer."

A glance at the work involved in restoring shows just how far the craftsmen's association has underestimated the work involved in the art of restoring.

The Hamburg Arts and Crafts Museum, for instance, has a Venetian book, dating from 1489, entitled *Historia naturalis de C. Pinto*. When it is remembered that Johnnes Gutenberg only devised printing in 1456 it is obvious that this tome is of considerable value.

The volume had been badly damaged by insects and the paper had disintegrated because of its age.

The restorer, who undertook the restoration, is responsible for books and drawings in the museum. He also looks after the largest collection of posters in Europe.

He drew up a detailed catalogue of the damage, including what efforts had previously been made to preserve the volume and a precise description of its state of preservation.

To do this he subjected the book to laboratory tests and examinations by ultra-violet and infra-red rays. Only after an analysis of the materials, often revealing facets that were unknown, can the restorer make recommendations as to whether a work can be restored and how he proposes to go about the task.



Tone-up, tune-up. A 19th century grand piano slowly loses its wrinkles.

His aim is not to produce a flawless work of art, but rather to preserve the original. The restorer records every step of his work in words and pictures.

But his work is not just that. When the book has been successfully restored, it has to be put in the museum's exhibition halls.

The restorer must ensure that the *book, when successfully restored*, is on display in a position that is adequately ventilated. He must keep watch on the humidity in the case where the work is displayed. He is responsible for regularly ensuring that the object remains in good condition.

This shows that the restorer's art includes a knowledge of art history, chemistry, technology, photography and conserving processes. The restorer must also have artistic talent and be nimble with his or her fingers.

The craftsman is involved in purely *creating something new. The restorer is* involved exclusively in preserving an original work of art.

Fundamentally the restorer's art is involved with an original object, with a work that is historically unique.

Walter Benjamin wrote a book entitled *Der Ursprung des Kunstwerks im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit*, or The Origin of the Work of Art in an Age of Technical Reproducibility. He said in this book that when a work fell into neglect it automatically lost its artistic value and its genuineness and authority were questioned. This also alters the appreciation of the work. Specifically this means a confusion of the status of the craftsman and restorer reduces the art of restoration to something purely technical, something that has no historical justification. A quick glance at the history of picture restoring shows why, since 1981 at the latest, this view, shared by all officials in restorers' associations and mentioned in their "Pink Paper," could only come about gradually. For a long time restoration has been associated with ideas of the work of the craftsman, although there have been people who have not gone along with this.

A closer look. Fine work on ceramics is aided by using this technical microscope. Faithfulness to the original is the aim, not technical perfection. (Photos: Peter Saefkow)

Metternich, for instance, when a state secretary in the Austrian government, called for the establishment of a chair on art restoration at the Vienna Academy as early as 1837.

Then the East Prussian picture restorer Victor Bauer-Bolton called for systematic training for restorers in 1913.

Up to the 1970s the view expressed in 1960 by Wilhelmsen in his *Werkstattausbildung für Restauratoren — erläutert an einem Beispiel* (Workshop Training for Restorers — Explained by an Example) has prevailed.

He believed that practical work was the only way to train a restorer. He believed that "theoretical work" was of only limited use and could be provided in special locations and at special times. He rejected the idea of a training institute.

Only in the past few years has there been a change of heart among specialist associations, brought about by the establishment of a degree course at arts colleges in Hildesheim and Cologne.

Students are given a degree in the art of the restorer after having completed at least eight semesters. This is an important step in maintaining acceptable standards and training at scientific levels.

Training is no longer haphazard and the qualifications of a young restorer are no longer dependent on the reputation of the restorer he or she trained under.

There are many art objects in the storerooms of museums and in private collections in this country, items of considerable historic importance, that should be subjected to processes of conservation.

In the midst of the quarrels between craftsmen's societies and restorers' associations it should not be forgotten that what is at stake is the future of works of art which should be preserved for coming generations.

It is to be hoped that Hohenwarth Castle in the Upper Palatinate will remain an inglorious exception.

In this case historical monument preservation craftsmen took very little regard to the original roof truss and threw it away.

Johannes Taubert described what he believed was essential to be a good restorer. He said he must have theoretical and practical knowledge, sensitivity and patience. Then he thought for a moment and added: "He must be prepared to reach for the stars."

Helmut Heide

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 10 April 1988)

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Consumer power yet to be wielded with full potential, meeting told

Three years ago 30 people attended a conference on critical consumer behaviour held at the Protestant Academy in Bad Boll, near Stuttgart.

This time 60 people attended. Does this 100-per-cent increase in attendance signify progress toward ecological awareness on the consumers' part? Hardly.

Yet, to use a military term, there is movement on this particular front in the fight for environmental protection.

Even so, the idea of ecological renewal by means of fitting consumer behaviour is not one for concerned citizens to anywhere near the same extent as issues such as Gorleben and Wackersdorf, the sites of proposed nuclear waste disposal and reprocessing facilities.

The consumer may be a power in the land but, exceptions apart, he is not yet capable of wielding his power to deliberate effect.

He is a sleeping giant who is only roused by shocks such as poisoned food stories or the news that wine is being sold with anti-freeze as a toxic additive.

He will then temporarily boycott these goods. Why, even the Soviet reactor catastrophe at Chernobyl and its radioactive aftermath have almost been forgotten.

You can't live in fear and trembling forever. Besides, consumers tend to feel somehow powerless.

So how are they to be persuaded to behave critically on a long-term basis, to consume sensibly and not be at the mercy of massive advertising campaigns?

Some say it is up to consumers themselves. Others feel the government must take the lead, obliging industry to manufacture different goods in a different manner.

Some fear such government intervention will not have any real effect. Besides, what is critical consumer behaviour?

Professor Scherhorn of Hohenheim University, Stuttgart, defines it as consideration for the interest of the community as a whole, or the public good.

In practice he was unable to say what shape this might take. Industry could certainly not be expected to adopt ethical manufacturing methods of its own accord. Its interest was, when all was said and done, to run at a profit.



That and other considerations had led to the affluent society in which we live, an affluence that would have been inconceivable only 20 years ago.

Professor Scherhorn dismissed the widespread argument that ecological demands might trigger an economic crisis. On the contrary, environmental protection promoted extra investment.

Unlike other experts, he felt industrial society stood a chance of survival because consumers felt increasingly determined not to be governed by outside influences. That held forth the prospect of a change in values.

Professor Frank Wimmer of Bamberg University struck an interesting balance. His subject is marketing, or how to identify new sales prospects.

How, he wondered, might companies best comply with the requirements of ecological responsibility? Economy and ecology, he said, were different worlds that at times clashed sharply.

At times ecology entails dispensing with articles that exact a particularly heavy pollution toll on the environment.

Committed environmentalists often wonder whether much of what is available might not be superfluous.

Keenly conscious of this clash of interest, Professor Wimmer felt ecological considerations would increasingly influence industrial decisions.

The ideal, he felt, would be for firms to undertake a long-term commitment to environmental protection and bear environmental considerations in mind in their long-term planning.

As a rule companies today paid no more heed to environmental protection than their statutory requirement or sanctions made it worth their while to do.

Yet there were an increasing number of instances in which firms had a long-term interest in fostering an environmental protection image.

Manufacturers who failed to take ecologically-orientated marketing seriously were missing opportunities. A working part of ecologically-orientated executives already existed.

Professor Freimann of Kassel University sounded a similarly optimistic note. Environmentally-orientated companies were increasing in size and influence. More and more environment-friendly products were available.

The wave of interest in better housing (say homes and gardens), better eating (fine food and drink), being better dressed and travelling as a status symbol the latest trend was toward activities with a bio-prefix.

Bio-food and bio-wine (the organic variety) had been joined by bio-furniture. Individual consumers, however, were out of their depth when it came to deciding what to buy.

The blue angel symbol was awarded to goods as a seal of environmental quality, but goods with the blue angel were merely less harmful to the environment than others which failed to boast the blue-and-white logo.

The difference between them was merely relative.

What was lacking was an objective classification of products that were genuinely environment-friendly. Professor Freimann felt it was for consumer associations to lend a hand in this department.

Consumer associations at present mainly see their role as that of providing impartial advice to consumers about to buy a new washing machine or a personal computer or helping consumers with complaints.

Environmental considerations often come second-best. But Willi Edelhoff of the Baden-Württemberg consumers' association said increasing interest had lately been shown in environmental aspects.

The first brochures dealing with this angle were published eight years ago and had sold like hot cakes. Consumer associations stocked them in bulk and in depth. They were busy setting up environmental advice units.

Environmental advisers to visit people's homes had not proved very effective. In two Stuttgart suburbs environmental services were now being provided on what might be called a street-worker basis.

Gerd Billen-Girmscheid of the Bonn consumers' initiative saw his organisation's role mainly as that of consumer self-help. Advice alone was not enough.

He outlined the progress of a campaign against a Bonn wholesaler who refused to take back empty bottles. A truckload of empty bottles was dumped on the firm's doorstep.

Such spectacular moves are as yet the exception, not the rule. The consumer, a sleeping giant, seldom flexed his muscle.

But when he does, boycotts are usually effective. Boycotts of poor-quality noodles or filling stations that try to charge higher fuel prices, for instance.

Consumer values are definitely in the throes of change. The change-over to ecological products cannot be effected overnight, but gradual progress is being made.

Erich Peter

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 29 March 1988)

Continued from page 10

awareness of the various points of view of music and gives an insight into its significance.

The films do not only introduce you to music but emerse you in it by their direction, camera work and cutting, which is in itself musical through its rhythmic qualities, tempo and the structuring of the frame sequences.

Unfortunately over-cautious programme planners have put a stop to a high viewer quota by slotting the films into the afternoon children's and young people's programme on the Second Television Channel.

The imaginative seriousness with which the subject of music is handled in the films is belittled yet again and music on television is once more only allowed to play the role of court jester.

Ellen Kohlhaas

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 8 April 1988)

Hope that youth will defeat lobby mentality

European Year of the Environment has been and gone. It went largely unnoticed, with little reason to pay much heed to it.

Merely proclaiming a Year of the Environment accomplishes nothing. Young people have devoted thought to the idea and made recommendations to the Environment Ministry.

Their comments give rise to hopes that the younger generation is more keenly aware of environmental problems faced by mankind as a whole, more critical of the existing situation and more willing, in view of first-hand experience, to act in accordance with conclusions reached.

Many of today's environmentally-concerned youngsters may one day hold political power and influence and behave more responsibly than their predecessors.

In the meantime it is encouraging to note how fresh and heedless of party-political considerations (naively, critics might say) young people are in their approach to the environment.

They have no personal axe to grind and are not caught between the millstones of objective exigencies and political feasibility.

How else could they call in such a carefree manner for European legislation to "force people to do what is good for them"? The European Community has often proved more of a hindrance than a help in arriving at a sensible solution to environmental problems.

In the European Community such issues are viewed almost entirely from the viewpoint of competition (and ensuring that no-one enjoys an unfair competitive advantage). Environmental and consumer protection usually come second-best.

Let us recall the catalytic converter debate and the vehicle emission regulations eventually agreed. Instead of adopting the more stringent US standards, the Twelve compromised on less exacting, higher-pollution levels in response to lobbying by European carmakers.

The European Community is seldom able to resist the blandishments of industry. This applies to issues as far apart as bovine somatropine, which seems sure to further increase surplus milk yields, and liberalisation of the German beer market to allow non-German brewers to compete, selling imported beer that does not comply with German purity requirements.

The Community seems sure to have many another idea on standardisation and harmonisation that is unlikely to benefit the consumer from the health viewpoint. Sound environmental policies tread on too many toes.

The young people who submitted views and ideas to the Environment Ministry are not concerned with such considerations. They feel even communist states can be persuaded of the need for environmental protection and say the Ministry could and ought to take stronger action.

Yet the clash of interests is self-evident on even such a straightforward issue as whether no-deposit no-return bottles ought to be banned.

Environmental policymakers, consumers and industry have conflicting interests, and in all probability the manufacturers of disposable plastic bottles will prevail.

Yet consumers, and young people in particular, could here make their views felt by demonstrating a preference for returnable bottles.

Young people take environmental protection seriously, if their submissions to the Environment Ministry are any guide. They are keen to learn more about the risks and codes of conduct and are willing to act in the public interest, making personal sacrifices if need be.

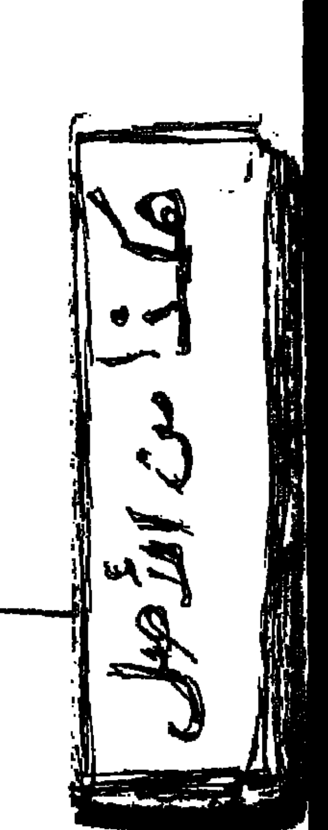
Environmental protection must indeed be taught at school, and regularly, not just on a one-off basis. But theory and fine words must not be the end of the matter.

We can all demonstrate day by day how serious we are about the environment. We can help to recycle waste. We can buy environment-friendly products (with the "blue angel" seal of quality).

Young people buying their first car can put their money where their mouth is and buy one with a catalytic converter that runs on unleaded fuel. Defensive driving also helps to protect the environment.

Rainer Müller

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 29 March 1988)



■ MEDICINE

The moral dilemma of prolonging death rather than life

An 88-year-old doctor, almost blind, was rushed to hospital after a stroke. He then suffered a heart attack and was kept alive in the emergency ward by all the technical means at modern medicine's disposal.

His daughter, also a doctor, pleaded in vain for the apparatus to be switched off.

So did the patient himself, who had difficulty in breathing, was suffering from excruciating pain and as a medical practitioner was well aware how pointless the treatment was.

He would have been only too happy to be allowed to die, but the hospital wouldn't let him.

His daughter later wrote, in an article in the Cologne medical journal *Deutsches Ärzteblatt*, that:

"This appears to have been a case in which the doctors were determined to prove how long a full life lived to its conclusion could be painfully prolonged by means of artificial respiration and drip feeding."

At night, she wrote, her father was in such pain that he screamed for help.

Instead of pain-killing drugs the night nurse drip-fed him the prescribed antibiotics.

To add insult to injury, 20 minutes before he died he was put through his exercise routine in the presence of his nearest and dearest. The last words he spoke were: "No, no, no!"

This is, perhaps, an extreme instance of the misuse of medical facilities. But when doctors try to prolong the life of a terminal patient, pointlessly prolonging his death rather than his life, they trigger increasingly vociferous calls for *Sterbehilfe*, as helping terminal patients to die rather than prolonging the agony is known in Germany.

Yet when *Sterbehilfe* (literally: help to die) is provided by way of medical and nursing support and personal care and attention, no-one wants to die sooner than necessary, as nurses', doctors', clergymen's and psychologists' experience has shown.

This form of *Sterbehilfe*, often sadly missed, was the main item discussed at a Berlin conference on Death Between Fear and Hope held by the German Medical Training Academy and the further training unit of the Berlin Medical Council.

"We doctors must relearn the lesson that not every death is a defeat for us," said the conference chairman, Professor Horst Joachim Rheindorf.

In his view dying at home in the company of one's nearest and dearest could well regain popularity. He called on the medical and allied professions to prepare to help the terminally ill and their relatives.

Death and dying were long repressed. People lived as though there were no such thing as death. It was long considered — and in some cases still is seen as — a kind of embarrassing accident that is best not mentioned. Patients expect doctors to deal with — and somehow cure — death. Berlin geriatric psychiatrist Professor Siegfried Kanowski told the conference that life expectancy, both people's own and that of their families, had increased to such an extent that people tended to feel death was a dim and distant prospect.

As a rule that is just what it is until well into later life. What does not really exist seems all the more threatening and tends to trigger intense, neurotic fear.

Even theologians admitted at the conference that a religious outlook alone was not enough to offset fear of death.

Has the nadir of death repression now been passed? Is death as a taboo on its own deathbed? Death and dying have been the subject of growing public debate since the belief in progress and the illusion that anything may be feasible have been shaken.

In the United States preoccupation with death and dying has come into its own as a social movement, while at the Berlin conference leaflets were distributed by a group claiming to be concerned with mortality and looking in to one's own mortality.

Its foremost aim is to help terminal patients in institutions, such as hospitals, nursing and old people's homes and in the family.

Munich psychotherapist Professor Heinz-Rolf Lückert confirmed that more people were giving consideration to the phenomenon of death, including their own, and had been doing for the past 10 years or so.

Does that have positive consequences for the fatally ill? Are they now being sent off to hospital less frequently and, once in hospital, no longer either pointlessly treated or haplessly ignored?

Despite attempts to end the taboo the tendency to transfer the dying to institutions continued unabated, said Freiburg doctor and psychologist Professor Uwe Koch.

This was partly due to living conditions and family circumstances. Twenty years ago 44 per cent of people died in hospital.

The present figure is over 65 per cent, and that doesn't include the 20 per cent who die in nursing and old people's homes.

In other words, most people fail to die where they would prefer to do so: where they have lived.

Modern, high-tech hospitals are not designed as places where people can die in dignity, the conference agreed.

As one speaker noted: "Much would have been gained if we could only ensure that patients no longer died on their own, shunted off into a bathroom."

Experienced women doctors (few men attended the conference), nurses and chaplains knew what the dying most needed and most dearly hoped for in their last days. They would prefer not to suffer from unbearable pain and to remain fully conscious. Modern medicine can deliver the goods on these points, although not all doctors are aware that it can.

Above all, they hope not to be left on their own, neither outwardly (someone reliable must be at hand all the time) nor inwardly.

There was nothing worse for a dying person, the conference was told, than not to be told what his condition was. Most wanted to know and had a shrewd idea of the position in any case.

Professor Koch mentioned US surveys indicating that the proportion of fatally ill people who were told what their condition was had increased from 10 to 85 per cent within 15 years.

But that meant nothing if "being told" amounted to no more than the mere, legally-motivated notification that death seemed imminent and inevitable.

What was needed was a constant, open discussion between doctor and patient. "The gap between the silence of the medical profession and the patient's desire for communication lays the foundation stone for a breakdown," Professor Koch said.

The patient's nearest and dearest also often helped to build a wall of silence, while nurses looked on helplessly.

Even if they were capable of helping they were not authorised to talk with a patient who had not been notified (and that still meant many in Germany) about what most concerned him.

The dying are still sedated and shunted off into a side-ward in many hospitals (but not all, luckily) once doctors decide there is nothing more that can be done to help them. Can they no longer be helped? Ellis Huber, president of the Berlin Medical Council, dealt with a self-help group run by doctors that he attended shortly after qualifying.

What, they wondered, were they going to do with patients they could no longer help. It took them four sessions to realise that even the dying could still be helped.

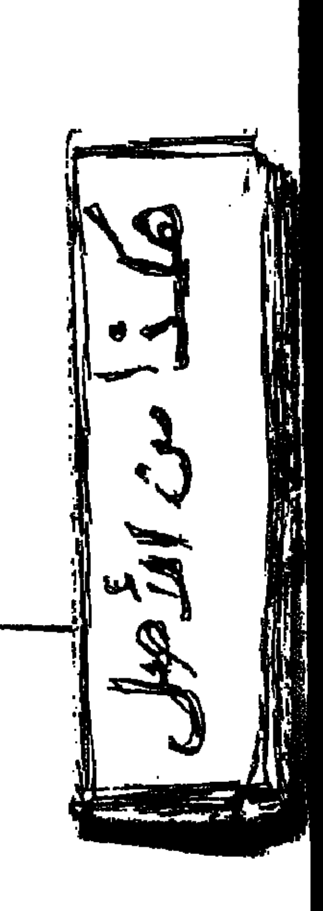
Hospices were constantly mentioned at the conference. Speakers who had visited one of the many British or American hospices were lavish in their praise of the pain treatment and personal care and attention provided.

A few hospices have lately been set up in the Federal Republic of Germany, some as hospital units, others outside the hospital framework. If only there were more!

Rosemarie Stein

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 9 April 1988)

I SPOKE, YOU SEE. This eye microscope developed at Hanover University reacts to the human voice. It understands 13 separate orders and enables the surgeon to work throughout with two hands. (Photo: Thomas Deutschmann)



■ HORIZONS

The long plod in quest of the holey pipeline

To the casual observer Peter Brill looks like an ordinary hiker. But he tramps across fields and through woods to keep an eye on a pipeline that lies beneath his feet.

He wears a trilby hat and carries a gnarled stick in his right hand. His oilskin jacket is yellow, his trousers are olive green. He wears rubber boots in view of the poor weather.

He tramps through muddy woodland paths and looks for all the world like the happiest hiker in the world.

But Brill, 33, from Duisburg, carries a walkie-talkie radio in his jacket pocket. It is obvious that he does not tramp through the woods and fields out of pure pleasure.

In fact he is not free to wander where he will. His route is clearly marked by yellow stakes arranged at regular intervals, with one that has a red glowing cover on it.

One metre below his feet there lies the oil pipeline that links Wilhelmshaven on the North Sea and refineries on the Rhine and in the Ruhr.

Brill is a fitter by training. He and his six colleagues have to ensure that there are no fractures and oil leaks in the pipeline between Lingen and the line's end at Wesseling, near Cologne.

They work for the Nord-West Oelleitung (NWO), based in Mülheim in the Ruhr.

The parent company is based in Wilhelmshaven, a combine of German oil companies that operate the 319-kilometre pipeline from the Jade estuary to the terminal south of Cologne.

About 15 million tons of crude oil flow through the 28-inch pipeline annually.

The crude flows through the underground pipeline at a leisurely pace, five kilometres per hour, in fact.

Once a month Peter Brill and his colleagues have to tramp along the marked-out route of the pipeline. They cover 20 kilometres a day — including every kind of hindrance, and there are plenty in any one section.

They have to follow the dictates of the pipeline, disregarding the realities of the countryside through which it passes.

The pipeline goes in a dead straight line under the earth, but Brill and his companions have to climb over barbed-wire fences and wade through streams.

A meadow where a young bull is grazing is a good reason for Brill and his colleauges to leave the marked route. He said: "If the farmers themselves dare not go there, we are not going to go in that field."

He keeps his eye on the pipeline route at a suitable distance, looking for tell-tale signs of a leak.

Discoloration of the grass, changes in the trees and pools of water covered with an oil film are all signs that there is a fracture in it and that oil is leaking.

When something is wrong he takes out his walkie-talkie and reports to the NWO head office, which can urgently take remedial action — if it is in fact a leakage from the pipeline and not, as in so many cases, old oil from a tractor.

Only after a lot of effort can Peter Brill's older colleagues recall leaks in the pipeline. They happened "at least 20 years ago," they say, and were not very important.

NWO has a number of security measures operating on the pipeline, which is today electronically-controlled throughout.

Measuring equipment records a drop in pressure and a computer is used to localise any malfunctions. The computer can control the difference between the volume of crude sent out from Wilhelmshaven and the quantity that arrives at its destination.

There are also "Molche" (the German means salamanders), electronic measuring devises that are sent with the crude through the pipeline and can recognise fractures in it.

Despite all this high-performance technology must people clamber over fences in stormy weather, wade through streams, across muddy fields, and traverse roads and railway lines like Peter Brill with a walking stick in his hand to defend himself against inhospitable dogs?

Is it necessary to watch for changes in the earth and vegetation, when "Molche," measuring stations and a weekly helicopter patrol survey the pipeline?

Peter Brill gives a smile that says a lot when his work is compared with that of the oft-quoted fireman on board a British electric locomotive. NWO boss Norbert Fehring, 49, stands up for the human element in keeping watch over the pipeline.

He said: "A leak no bigger than the nozzle on an aerosol through which two to three litres of oil could escape a day cannot be traced by the most sensitive electronic equipment."

Fehring added that the men who walked the pipeline also had to keep an eye on its above-ground security.

A passage five and a half metres wide has to be left free either side of the pipeline. It has to be kept free of plant life so that the pipeline's route can be observed without hindrance from the air.

This is true for public woodland as well as for private gardens. NWO has the right to supervise the pipeline's passage through every private plot of land it passes.

Brill and his colleagues have the right to enter private property and ensure that all is well with the pipeline that passes below the earth.



Up hill and down dale looking for holes. (Photo: Frank Pierlings)

They record with increasing attention all building operations being carried out along the pipeline's path. An earth-remover that gets too close to it can have disastrous consequences for the environment.

Peter Brill's experience has been that impressing on building workers the consequences of digging without due care and attention makes them more careful.

He says that his job is very varied. He is in the country and the fresh air, and keeps his eyes open for people illegally dumping rubbish. When he sees anything he reports what he sees to the authorities responsible for garbage disposal.

There is a lot to be said for the pipeline's security in that during his ten years service he has not once come across a leak. His friends pull his leg telling him that he earns his living by going for a walk.

He brushes this aside saying: "They should walk through a cornfield when it is 30 degrees in the shade and you can hardly draw a breath."

He goes his way trudging through waterlogged fields with lime on his boots. He has his radio in his breast pocket and he looks for the next yellow metal stake.

Ulrich Hermanski

(Rheinische Post, Düsseldorf, 12 March 1988)

Continued from page 10

ican Occupation Forces banned one of his concerts in Vienna in 1948. Later he became conductor of the Vienna Philharmonic and he took charge of the Vienna Opera in 1957.

He left this appointment in 1963 after a lot of fuss, but he returned in 1977.

He is an enthusiastic pilot and car driver. His greatest interest after music is technology no matter if it concerns fast cars, planes, boats or the technical possibilities to perfect musical recording.

Like no-one else he has exploited the possibilities of the technical media. He has made his music available not only to a relatively small number of concert-goers but to a public of millions via his recordings.

In his business affairs he has been involved in production and marketing companies.

He is a star conductor but he has done a lot for the rising generation of musicians. He set up the International Karajan Foundation in 1968 that subsidies competitions for conductors and youth orchestras.

This organisation has already done a great deal for the international careers of many young conductors.

Since 1967 he has organised the Easter Festival in Salzburg. He is also a member of the board of the Salzburg Summer Festival.

Despite his frail health he does not neglect his music or his "dream of perfection."

Christine Backhaus

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 5 April 1988)

The journeyman tradition carries on

Travelling journeymen are still a sight to be seen in German cities and they feature in any number of popular folk songs.

They pack up their belongings and try their luck all over the country.

The most famous travelling journeyman was shoemaker Hans Sachs, son of a tailor. He went on his travels all over Germany between 1511 and 1516.

He was a "Meistersinger" and Shrovetide player and is the central character in Wagner's opera *The Meistersingers of Nuremberg*.

He wrote lyric poetry and more than 200 plays that are an important aspect of German literature.

Hans Sachs was the prototype of travelling journeymen of today.

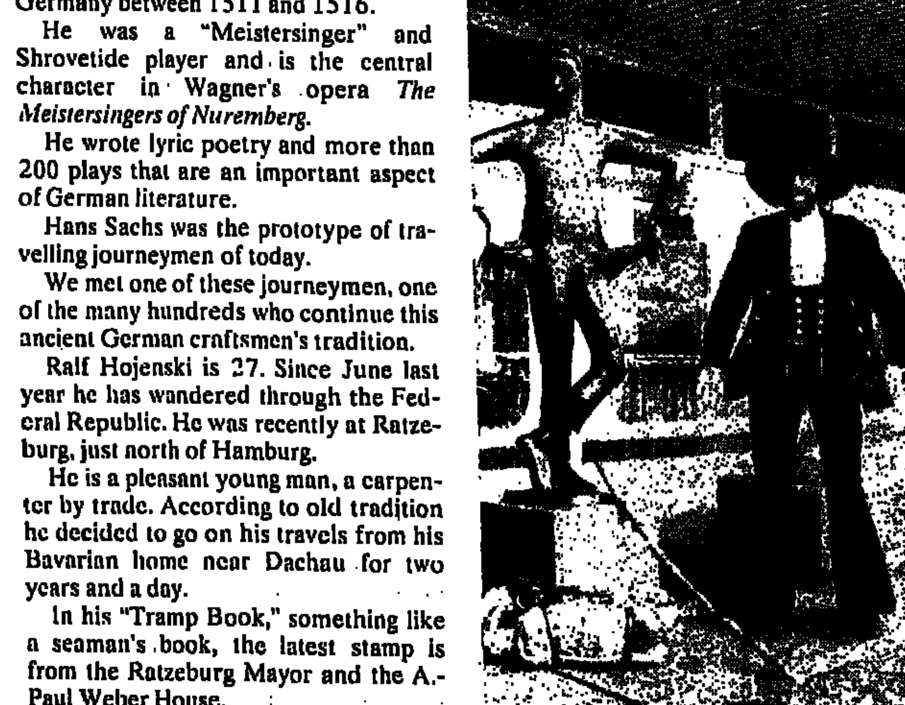
We met one of these journeymen, one of the many hundreds who continue this ancient German craftsmen's tradition.

Ralf Hojenski is 27. Since June last year he has wandered through the Federal Republic. He was recently at Ratzeburg, just north of Hamburg.

He is a pleasant young man, a carpenter by trade. According to old tradition he decided to go on his travels from his Bavarian home near Dachau for two years and a day.

In his "Tramp Book," something like a seaman's book, the latest stamp is from the Ratzeburg Mayor and the A.-Paul Weber House.

This gives some idea of the point of this journeying, "learning about regional work techniques and learning about country and people and even about oneself."



Journeyman carpenter Hojenski makes a point. (Photo: Hans-Jürgen Wohlfahrt)

The original tradition of the travelling journeyman was designed to give the men who went off on their travels a chance to "fight" for a way in life. But today they knock at many a door in vain.

Hojenski has experienced this in usually hospitable Ratzeburg. He could not find part-time work in the city which stands on an island surrounded by lakes.

He also had trouble finding a roof over his head.

Then he had a stroke of good luck when a young Ratzeburg woman saw a publican turn him away.

After a short telephone call journeyman Hojenski was offered bed and board by a couple whose two sons had been out as travelling journeymen.

The traditional dress of journeymen carpenters such as Hojenski is a decorated corduroy coat with a broad-brimmed black, felt hat. He carries a knobbly wooden stick and has a pack over his shoulder that contains his few possessions.

Hojenski left Ratzeburg feeling good and made for Lübeck. He then hopes to go to see the Holstein lakes.

He was sent on his way with many good wishes. Many were envious of him and would like to "drop out" as he had done for "two years and a day."

Hans-Jürgen Wohlfahrt

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 2 March 1988)

■ FRONTIERS

Back-to-nature housing scheme — at a cost

Architectural experts and magazine editors from far and wide are making their way to see 68 spectacular houses on the "Laher Wiesen" housing scheme, east of Hanover.

The din in one house above a ceiling of bleached wood was deafening. A little boy named Boris and his girl friend were playing with his toys.

The boy's father and master of the house said: "Yes, the poor sound-proofing worries me the most."

The obvious question then was why had he paid out DM340,000 for such a home?

The 68 houses in the "Laher Wiesen" scheme have been spoken of highly for their family friendliness, for their awareness of environment considerations, for their value for money and the beautiful way they have been built.

Anyone wanting to visit the environment-conscious community by public transport must make his or her way from the bus stop through a typical concrete estate built in the 1960s. In the background there are hideous, towering office blocks that house insurance companies.

Then there are some usual brick-built houses with smart shops on the ground floor.

The visitor would almost be in danger of going past the community then. The houses do not make much impact at first sight.

The wooden facades of the first house fronts are in an indefinable gray. Just like any other row of terraced houses there are little winterish gardens crushed up in front of them.

Then, at a second glance, one sees the striking roofs. They are of grass which is why the houses are spoken of in Hanover as the "Grass-roofed housing scheme."

This roof grass is more wan than spring green. But the roofs are not planted with grass for its colour.

Hermann Boockhoff, one of the two architects, described the merits of this design. He said: "The grass gives a pleasant atmosphere in the rooms and air that is properly humidified."

He continued: "The grass roots give good isolation against the cold of winter and the heat of the summer. This is why we can use the space right up to under the roof."

This individual style of building not only benefits nature, although the houses are built close together, but also the wallets of the developers. But that is another matter.

The reference to nature is obvious in the road names such as "Ewige Weide," Eternal meadow, or "Im Rispengras," or In panic grass. Hermann Boockhoff, 43, and his colleague Helmut Rentrop, 37, can be found in a chaotic office on the edge of the housing scheme.

They originally came from the Hanover city planning department and a firm of building administrators.

From the office window the neighbouring Waldorf School can be seen. Eight years ago the "Muesli village," as mockers call the community, started off.

The two architects were members of the "building group" which met over plans to extend the school.

They did the planning together, built together and ironed out planning and building errors, financial and tradesmen's mistakes, jointly. Everything was going swimmingly.

Then at some point along the line someone had the idea: Families should be able to live in just as pleasant surroundings as the surroundings in which the children do their lessons in their new school.

No sooner said than done. There was enough space for houses on the "Laher Wiesen." The ecologically-minded building pioneers began as a "mini-group."

Although no-one wanted to shout about the project from the rooftops, news of it spread like wildfire through appropriate quarters in Hanover.

People such as anthrosophists and old-hands of the 1968 student movement, social workers and journalists, musicians and teachers expressed interest.

The first building phase quickly grew from the planned 46 to 68 homes.

I asked the architect-duo if they did not sometimes wonder at their nerve in view of the spectacular increase in the number of houses to be built? After all they had earned their living in quite a different way previously.

Hermann Boockhoff said "no" in tones that showed he was sure of his convictions.

Connections with the city of Hanover helped to provide building land and the local building society organised the complicated financial arrangements.

The land acquired was divided up, houses were designed and costs calculated in discussions that sometimes went on all night long. Sometimes they acted out their problems along the lines of psychodrama.

Architects in a Bonn Building Ministry brochure entitled "Courage to Build" dated 1984 announced that a 145-square-metre house should cost only DM270,000.

The considerable praise given the "Laher Wiesen" housing scheme and satisfied house-owners show that it was very much worth while to have the courage to build.

Hans Borgaes, 40, the only non-academic in the founding group, said: "My daughter begins to cry as soon as there is any mention of perhaps our moving sometime."

Architect Boockhoff said that the children — there are more than 100 — are also the gainers. They have plenty of playmates, plenty of room to play and understanding neighbours who are parents themselves. There is also the open "village green" for them to play on.

Bernd Winkler, 44, said during coffee in his 240-square-metre home that sometimes he was downcast.



Costs outgrew the grass: grass-roofed house in Hanover scheme. (Photo: Gerhard Stoletzki)

He is the spokesman for about 30 home-owners, men and women, who are in a legal clinch with the architects and builders.

There is a dark side to "life under the lawn," as one architectural critic described the housing scheme. And as always money is at the root of it.

Hans Borgaes, who is not one of the house-owners who has gone to law, said: "The architects must return the price for bargain building." He said that he had kept back fees "quite amicably."

His reason for this is that in his view there was a lack of supervision during building. This is a view shared by many house-owners in the housing scheme, even though they have not said so openly.

Bernd Winkler, on the other hand, is acting tough. He maintains that the costings were unrealistic from the very beginning. That is the only way to explain cost increases of up to 90 per cent.

He said that the architects had not explained problems adequately to participants in the housing scheme. Because of this, he maintained, one or two of them had been brought to the verge of ruin.

He is also of the view that there are design failures in the scheme.

Winkler, who is a lawyer, has not only suffered materially but he has been subjected to derision.

He is a lawyer in the Lower Saxony Consumers Centre. His job is to warn others beforehand about unseen risks. He did not see the risks he was falling into.

He said: "You wouldn't believe how naive we were."

When explaining away the breakdown of faith in the professionals he does not forget to mention the fact that apart from the architects the managing director of a well-known Hanover building firm was among the clients for whom houses were being built.

The architects do not take kindly to any mention of criticism. After all both have risked their professional careers on the "Muesli village."

The houses are models for smaller projects all over the Federal Republic. Colleagues in Cologne are among others who are about to emulate them.

Hermann Boockhoff, usually jolly, said pointedly: "I have a suspicion that many clients will not pay their last account."

He and his colleagues believe that it is "just a small group of troublemakers" who are causing difficulties and going to court.

Costs have shot ahead, a problem to which people who are building their own homes get to know as a "normal" condition.

But that apart many of the people cooperating in the "Laher Wiesen" housing scheme said that they had expected too much from rolling up their own sleeves and getting down to it.

Most of them are desk-bound. They have enthusiasm but they often do not have the skill to do things with their hands. Then they have a full-time job in a school or on a newspaper which does not leave them as much time for doing things outside work as they had hoped.

It turned out that crowds of unemployed academics, nimble with their fingers and with plenty of muscle, found profitable work on the housing scheme.

Moonlighters come cheaper than "official" tradesmen, but definitely more expensive than the original do-it-yourself plan.

The "alternative" house-owners in Hanover, however, are not alone in having to face up to these problems. The same kind of problems emerge even in small projects, according to Renate Narten, a sociologist specialising in architectural matters.

She said that it was not so much to do with people's shortcomings as a structural problem. The inclusion of the architects in the home-building cooperative veiled the real and varied interests of the people involved.

The "ecology architects" had very little experience. Furthermore the "experimental risks" were pushed aside.

Michael Krische is one of the home-owners who is pleased with the way things have turned out. He said: "Anyone who knowingly takes part in an experiment should not complain when things do not turn out quite as they should."

But despite all the annoyance there is not one of the critics who wants to leave the housing scheme.

Not without a certain amount of self-mockery Hans Borgaes sees as the main motive behind the grass-roofed houses a "nostalgia for village life." This will eventually be satisfied by a sturdy village row.

Thomas Kröter

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 9 April 1988)

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The student leaders of 1968 have grown old and grey. Many have been successful in their long march through the institutions and have gained acceptance.

Others who have failed to do so are dismissed as dreamers. Their message, if it ever was one, has gone unheeded.

Yet the student movement was the soil in which left-wing extremism took root, leading to urban terrorism.

Enthusiasm and idealism led not only to resignation at the world proving resistant to change but also to lethal violence.

Maybe that would have happened anyway in a world where force, and war, is all too often used in the attempt to solve problems. There is no reason to glorify the APO, to see student protest in the late 1960s as revolutionary or in any way on a par with 1848.

Yet it was needed to wake us up and to stop the Federal Republic from degenerating into a democracy of "jobs for the boys." Shocks of this kind are regularly needed, as was shown in the early 1980s when the Greens emerged from the anti-nuclear and environmental protest movement.

The class of '68 made it clear that not only politicians and parties reflect and represent the interests of the public.

In a living democracy impulses must also be provided from outside the political Establishment.

Günter Brozio

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 11 April 1988)